

Time & Newsweek:
Separated
at birth?

Page 20

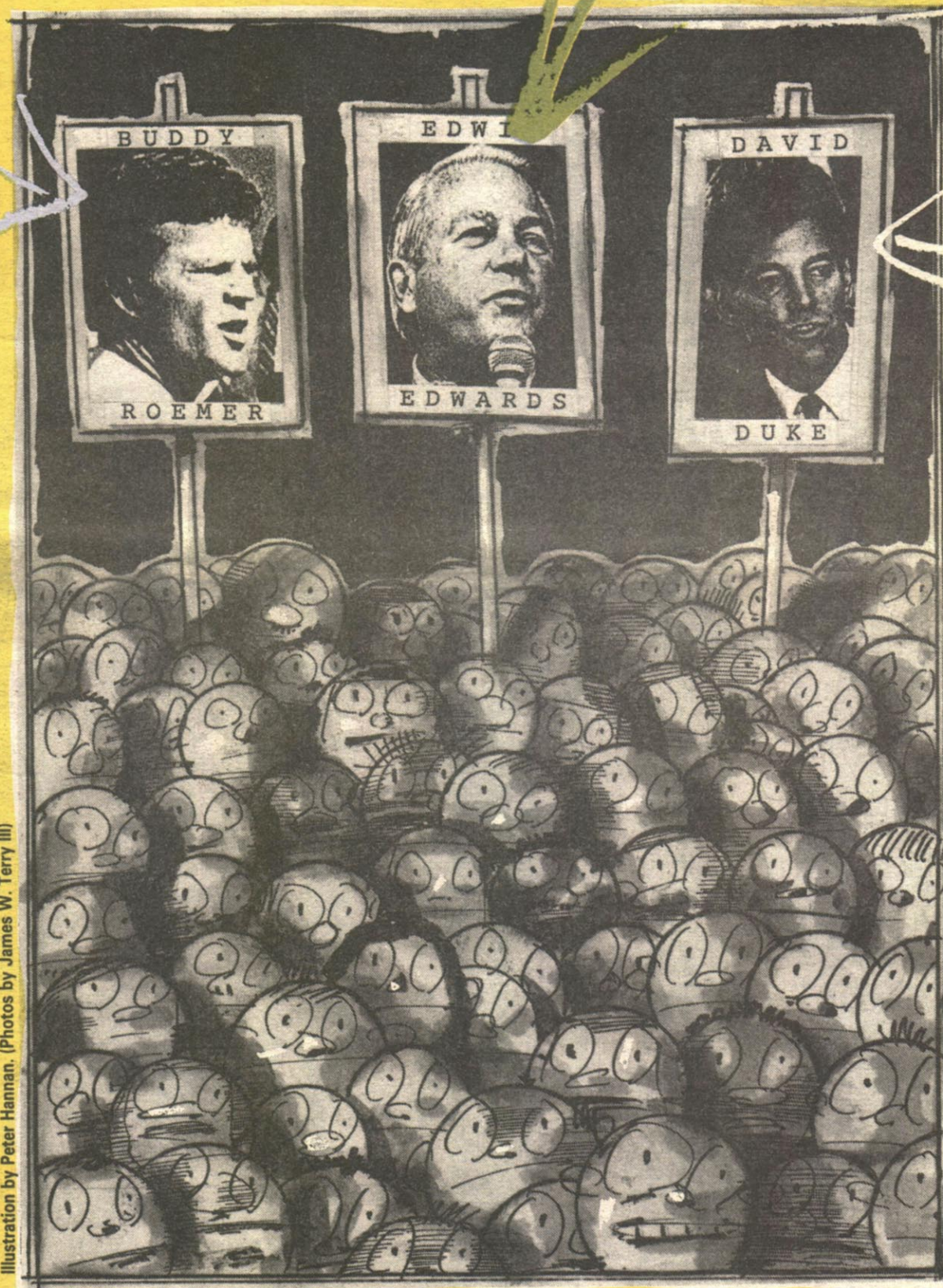
IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 15, NO. 35

SEPT. 25-OCT. 1, 1991

\$2.00

The technocrat, the Democrat and the plain old rat



More than a display of colorful characters, the Louisiana governor's race provides a sobering glimpse into the future of American politics.

Illustration by Peter Hannan. (Photos by James W. Terry III)

Sheldon Sunness reports, page 12



A Gray area for black politics in the U.S.

By Salim Muwakkil

On September 16, Rep. William Gray (D-PA) officially left his post as House majority whip to become head of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), the country's largest black fundraising organization. When the six-term legislator announced in June that he would resign from Congress to become UNCF president, a clever pundit quipped, "a black whip is a terrible thing to waste," altering the first words of UNCF's famous motto—"a mind...."—to make a potent political point. The resignation of Gray, who had become the third-ranking House Democrat and the most influential African-American congressman in U.S. history, was bemoaned by many in the black community.

After just 12 years in Congress, Gray was directly on track for the powerful House speaker's job. He was regarded as a major political presence in Washington and his name increasingly appeared on lists of potential presidential candidates. So when Gray relinquished his hard-earned and highly-coveted congressional status, he triggered an avalanche of rumors.

Washington whispers: Gray is either "a gifted politician who is walking away from the pinnacle of power to head the United Negro College Fund," editorialized the *Wall Street Journal*, "or a product of a contemporary polit-

ical money system that has resulted in a federal grand jury investigation of his finances." The *Journal* grudgingly discounted the latter reason.

"I hear a lot of whispers in Washington that the Justice Department has something on Gray," said one well-connected former aide of a retired Michigan congressman. "Some of that talk may come from politicians who just couldn't believe that he would give up the enormous political prestige, not to mention the fundraising potential, of the majority whip position." Many of these observers, he said, argue that the 49-year-old Gray was literally pushed off his lofty perch by interests hostile to blacks' growing political clout.

But others find the corruption argument implausible. Why, they ask, would Gray accept such an image-sensitive job if he had skeletons in his closet?

Also, his UNCF job reportedly pays much more than the \$125,100 he earned in Congress—it also lacks the restrictions on honoraria—and has a sharper focus on the issues that are dear to Gray's heart.

Congressional frustration: "I have decided to leave Congress so that I can concentrate on making a more focused contribution to the public welfare while also being able to have the opportunity to enjoy more time with my family and church," Gray said at the June 20 news conference where he announced his resignation. "When I look back on my career in terms of symbolism—I was the first black to chair the Budget Committee, the first to be chairman of the Democratic Caucus, the first to be in the leadership—I think there is a more important contribution for me and a greater mission for me."

Like many others these days, Gray could just have been frustrated with the Congress as an institution, noted David Bethitis, a senior research associate with the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (JCPES), which focuses on policy issues of concern to African-Americans. "As majority whip, it would have taken Gray 10, 12 or even 14 years to be considered for speaker. That's a long time."

And, Bethitis added, "while waiting for that chance, he would be spending time in an institution that has been badly crippled over the last decade. The Reagan era's legacy of budget deficits and Gramm-Rudman has rendered Congress virtually impotent. Most of the current House debates could be characterized as 'academic politics,' where people are fighting over issues they can do nothing about, because they have no resources."

Bethitis said that within a Congress so constrained, Gray could have done little to substantially address the serious problems confronting African-Americans. Ironically, Gray's position of House leadership also would have distanced him from the concerns and campaigns of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) during a period when the group is expected to wield substantial influence. After the 1992 elections, JCPES analysts predict, there will be at least six additional African-American House mem-

bers. Because of legal and demographic changes, the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Texas and Alabama are all expected to elect new black representatives. Florida and Arkansas may also join the parade.

The CBC's current membership of 26 represents a bit less than 10 percent of the House's Democratic majority. After the '92 elections, where Republicans are expected to gain several seats, that percentage will rise, as will the CBC's influence as a bloc within the Democratic coalition. Moreover, the group will experience a subtle shift from its historic Northern power base to the South, which will undoubtedly have an effect on this country's political landscape.

Sweet home, academia: Gray said that in moving to the world of academia he is returning to his home turf. He said his grandfather taught Greek and mathematics at Grambling State University and Southern University, both in Louisiana. His mother was dean of students at Southern and his father served as president of Florida Memorial College in Miami and later at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee.

But Gray's duties as head of the UNCF won't be a bed of roses. The 41 schools represented by UNCF are in dire financial straits. He is expected to give the group the high-

INSIDE STORY

est profile it has had in its 47-year history. The presidents of the UNCF schools picked Gray because of his unique access to corporate and government power—that same access that listed him in the ranks of Congress' top fundraisers and attracted federal investigators.

According to UNCF media relations manager Melinda Manning, Gray will spearhead the group's most ambitious fund drive in its history. "His top priority is a capital campaign, dubbed 'campaign 2000,' that will seek to raise \$250 million in three years. With this campaign, we're trying to bolster school endowments, improve our faculty and administration development programs—we're especially concerned about raising their salaries to more competitive levels—and upgrade the structural conditions at many of our schools."

In 1990, UNCF raised \$50 million and philanthropist Walter Annenberg, of *Reader's Digest* fame, already has made a \$50 million matching grant for 1991. Gray said his goal is to increase annual donations to \$100 million a year within two years.

The 41 historically black schools, many of them small institutions in Southern states, have a combined enrollment of 50,000 students. Because of tuition hikes at major universities, along with the perception of increased racism on those campuses, enrollment rates have increased 16 percent at UNCF schools since 1986. Although these institutions account for only 3 percent of all U.S. universities, they enroll 35 percent of all black students at four-year schools and award 40 percent of all the bachelor degrees received by African-Americans.

"The challenge for higher education for African-Americans is now a national challenge," Gray said to reporters during his first day on the job. "If America is going to remain competitive in the 21st century, we have got to come up with methodologies that break the cycle of poverty" and qualify all Americans for full participation in the work force.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: A Gray area for black politics	2
Digging into Salomon's minds	3
The First Stone/In Person	4
In Short	6
Schmoke, but no fire in Baltimore primary	7
Re-assessing dioxin's risks	9
Yugoslavia's dissonant dissidents	11
Bogged down in Louisiana's governor's race	12
Editorial	14
Letters	15
Viewpoints: Understanding the Palestinian struggle	16
An open letter to Congress on Israeli loans	17
Life in the U.S.: Earl Robinson's red, white and blue	18
In Print: Constitutional country blues	19
Time and Newsweek—separated at birth?	20
Classifieds	23
Running commentary jogs the mind	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 15, No. 35) published Sept. 25, 1991, for newsstand sales Sept. 25-Oct. 1, 1991.

A reader-supported newspaper

In These Times depends on its readers' generosity to help us keep publishing. More than 4,200 *In These Times* subscribers now contribute between \$5 and \$1,000 per year above the cost of their subscriptions. We welcome contributions of all amounts. Please send yours to the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647. Your gifts to the Institute are tax-deductible.

By Matthew Reiss

NEW YORK

SALOMON BROTHERS' SORDID TREASURY-bond saga unfolding on Wall Street sheds new light on the cost of an imbalanced federal budget. The breadth of the scandal shows that the Department of Treasury is too deeply ensconced in the financial industry to effectively regulate that same industry, leaving U.S. tax dollars dangerously vulnerable to the machinations of a few Wall Street houses. Unwilling to risk its own solvency, Treasury allowed Salomon's apparent price-fixing to go virtually unpunished. And there is reason to believe that the whole securities market is involved in similar actions.

Selling government securities allows Treasury to market pieces of the national debt. The sale of debt paper is, in effect, a loan from Wall Street. Only the Treasury's stable of preferred money-changers, or "primary dealers," are allowed to bid for the lucrative debt paper when Treasury auctions off its IOUs. This market operates with lax regulation and in utter secrecy. The government has good reason to keep taxpayers in the dark, because it borrows money from Wall Street at a higher rate than it loans money to Wall Street.

Salomon abused its privileged position as one of the 39 primary dealers when it violated a Treasury limit that no dealer hold more than 35 percent of any given denomination of securities issued at an auction. The firm surpassed the 35 percent mark at least four times in the past nine months.

Easy money: Because of the enormity of the national debt, the U.S. government securities market turns over more capital than the U.S. stock, corporate bond and currency markets combined. It is the life blood of Wall Street. And collecting and trading pieces of the national debt is risk-free, because Treasury securities are guaranteed by the government.

Big Wall Street brokers, in fact, are awarded such generous interest rates and leveraging terms that those unfamiliar with the trader mentality would have a hard time understanding why Salomon broke the rules at all. Salomon and other big houses can walk away from the securities market with an annualized return on investment of about 50 percent, according to the London-based *Economist*. With only a 1 percent down payment, they buy government IOUs. These IOUs

The Department of Treasury is in the tenuous position of having to police its creditors for lending it too much money. And Salomon has lent the government more than any firm since 1917.

yield about 7 percent for the firms. The Federal Reserve then loans the money back to Wall Street at about 5.75 percent interest. And Salomon can even use the debt paper it is buying as collateral on the loans it pur-



Salomon Brothers: The hand that feeds the U.S. Treasury won't get bit

chases with them. This formula permitted five firms to realize half the market's \$800 million in profits last year.

It might seem crazy that Salomon would risk endangering such a lucrative arrangement. And indeed, Salomon Brothers' new chairman, Warren Buffet, told Congress that violations by the firm's chief securities trader, Paul Mozer, were "not the act of a rational man." But while the insanity defense may be enough to appease Congress, it will

not protect Salomon's \$481 million first half profit for 1991 from litigants who lost millions because of Salomon's action.

Salomon's top executives learned this past spring that their traders were cornering the market in U.S. Treasury securities and unlawfully inflating prices. But they didn't inform federal authorities until August. Salomon disclosed that its government securities desk had, on four occasions, falsely bid in the name of other companies in an effort to

hoard Treasury securities. In December, Salomon—using such fake bids—bought 48 percent of an \$8.6 billion, four-year Treasury note issue. In February it got even bolder by snatching up 57 percent of a \$9 billion, five-year issue. Salomon did it again in April and controlled 85 percent of the Treasury's \$12.3 billion, two-year issue in May.

The Treasury was informed of irregularities in a Salomon bid for securities a half-

Continued on page 8

Trusting too much: How the government gave away inside information

Pelted with allegations of regulatory "incest" by congressional committee members pursuing the Salomon Brothers scandal, the Department of Treasury has ended its practice of circulating classified securities data to Wall Street's major players before making such information public.

The Treasury Borrowing Advisory Committee is a private group of Wall Street's most illuminated money changers and members of the Public Securities Association, a trade group. The committee meets just prior to the public release of Treasury's "Quarterly Refunding Announcement," a statement that describes the denominations of securities that Treasury plans to sell to pay off the national debt. The financiers exchange information and advise Treasury officials what securities "it feels would be most cost effective for the Treasury to issue," according to the department.

Members of House and Senate panels looking into the Salomon scandal had questioned the propriety of the commit-

tee functioning as both a federal advisory committee and a private organization, allowing members to act as both the private and public sectors. In response, Treasury cut the major perk enjoyed by those who belong to the elite committee: advance viewing of classified securities information. From now on, Treasury will publicly release the information first.

Until now, Treasury has merely advised committee members not to contact their offices with the inside information during their deliberations in Washington. Only after the committee's two-day meetings, including a dinner with their Treasury brethren, have committee members been permitted to contact their home offices. But no safeguards against such a breach had ever existed. Instead, Treasury relied on the honor system to keep this information from getting into the wrong hands, specifically, those belonging to the major brokerage houses with seats in the U.S. securities primary market. The lax rules, at the very least, threatened the credibil-

ity of the Treasury's so-called "open market" trading in government debt paper.

"Can't [committee members] just place a call to their colleagues in New York from their [Washington] hotel?" Rep. Jim Slattery (D-KA) asked at a recent congressional hearing. Slattery was questioning Jerome H. Powell, assistant treasury secretary for domestic finance, about the risk of Treasury Borrowing Advisory Committee members leaking inside information. The nervous assistant secretary shouted back, "What do you want us to do—tail them?"

The exchange typified what Slattery went on to term a "benign regulatory friendship," between the Treasury Department and Wall Street. He noted that the recent revelations about Salomon's actions in cornering the Treasury Securities market suggest that Wall Street should not be left alone with the public purse. "We shouldn't be in the business of trusting too much," he argued. —M.R.

By Joel Bleifuss

Flights of fancy

After more than four years following allegations of the 1980 arms-for-no-hostages deal, I have no doubt that 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign officials cut a deal with the representatives of the Ayatollah Khomeini to have 52 American hostages held until after the election. A huge body of circumstantial evidence points to such a deal, as does testimony from many unrelated sources. However, getting a perspective on the evidence is becoming increasingly difficult due to an effusion of nonsense now being circulated about the October Surprise.

Gunther Russbacher, a former U.S. Navy captain, claims that in the late afternoon of Oct. 19, 1980, a BAC 111 jet under his command took off from Andrews Air Force Base and headed for Paris. According to Russbacher, his passengers included George Bush, William Casey and Donald Gregg. Russbacher goes on to give many details about a top secret trip by Bush, then the GOP vice presidential candidate, to meet with representatives of the Ayatollah Khomeini. The only thing Russbacher doesn't provide is the truth.

For example, on the evening of Oct. 19, 1990 George Bush spoke to a meeting of the Zionist Organization of America in Washington. Such discrepancies don't faze Russbacher: he changes his story. At one point he claimed that he flew Bush back from Paris in the supersonic SR-71 Blackbird. As Marc Cooper of the *Village Voice* points out, it is perhaps no coincidence that the SR-71 is featured on the cover of June's *Popular Mechanics*. Further, SR-71 pilots and passengers are required to wear special suits and undergo hours of pre-flight medical preparation.

Russbacher, who is currently serving time for impersonating a U.S. Attorney, was first promoted as an October Surprise witness in the *Napa Sentinel* of northern California. The editor and publisher of this wine-country weekly is Harry Martin. John Whalen, media critic for San Jose's alternative weekly, *Metro*, reports that Martin is the former publisher of the Silicon Valley magazine *Defense Systems Review* whose masthead has boasted former CIA Deputy Director Bobby Ray Inman.

Russbacher's falsehoods were also published in *Spotlight*, the weekly paper of the neo-Nazi organization Liberty Lobby. In fact, Russbacher's tale was put out over Liberty Lobby's "Radio Free America" talk show the day before the *Napa Sentinel* went to press this past May.

Neo-Nazis are not the only ones giving credence to Russbacher's high-flying allegations. KPFA, the San Francisco Pacifica station, has given his story air time, as has Dave Emory's "One Step Beyond" broadcast from KFJC in Los Altos Hills, Calif. In fact in northern California, the hat has been passed around conspiracy circles for this con-man's legal defense.

Brits and Jews: Switching con artists, what is one to make of the Lyndon LaRouche organization's presence on the October Surprise bandwagon?

LaRouchian journalists from *Executive Intelligence Review*, *New Solidarity* and the *New Federalist* have been concocting a mixture of relevant fact and paranoid fancy about the 1980 deal. According to an *Executive Intelligence Review* press release, the LaRouchians have been on top of the scandal since its inception. On Dec. 2, 1980, for instance, *Executive Intelligence Review* reported "on how the efforts by Kissinger and British intelligence had cost Carter the presidential election." This is in keeping with the LaRouchian's central thesis, which, stripped of its facade, posits that the homosexual-ridden British government is a front for Jewish bankers who are responsible for, among other things, smuggling drugs into the U.S.

According to Chip Berlet of Political Research Associates of Boston, though some LaRouchian information may be valid, other is wacko and should be used with discretion. He warns, "There needs to be a political bunko squad that comes along and says, 'Guys, you are being conned.'"

That squad paid me a visit earlier this month.

Covert wannabe: In a recent article in the *Village Voice*, Frank Snapp provides convincing evidence that Richard Brenneke "has lied repeatedly" about his role in the October Surprise scandal.

In the April 17 issue of *In These Times*, I described Brenneke as "an Oregon-based arms dealer and money launderer" who "claims to have been present at one session of the Paris gathering" on the weekend of October 19 and 20 where details of the alleged arms-for-hostages deal between the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign and representatives of the Ayatollah Khomeini were ironed out.

It now appears that instead of spending a weekend in Paris,

**Tim Miller: political artist, artful politico**

By Bruce Mirkin

Tim Miller doesn't mind being provocative. In one performance piece, he goes from graphic descriptions of his youthful sexual adventures to describing his urge to stick the slimy faces of Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the ashes of another friend who has died. In fact, this 32-year-old performance artist who grew up in Richard Nixon's hometown of Whittier, Calif., sees it as a critical part of the artist's function in society to shake people up.

Last year, when the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) nixed funding for Miller and three other performance artists whose work deals with highly charged sexual and political subjects, Miller responded. First, he furiously denounced the move and joined other Los Angeles artists in putting together an "Art Criminal Chain Gang" that trekked through central Los Angeles to the downtown Federal Building, wearing striped jail uniforms and carrying large pictures of Oscar Wilde and Virginia

Woolf. Attempting to turn themselves in for the "crime" of producing "queer performance art," the members of the group blockaded the building in an act of artist-initiated anti-censorship civil disobedience. Second, Miller got to work setting up an alternative source of funding for gay and lesbian artists.

The National Fund for Lesbian and Gay Artists (NFLGA) grew out of conversations that Miller and Holly Hughes, another of the "NEA Four," had with students while teaching a seminar at the University of Texas last fall. "It was really scary," says Miller. "The students were really feeling the fist of the government putting this big 'No' forward, saying don't rock the boat, don't project dissenting opinions. And to the queers, to definitely not talk about it, to go back to the '50s. It was frightening to see that younger lesbian and gay artists are really being told to shut up."

NFLGA has just gotten its first serious infusion of money: 10 percent of the proceeds from the Out Auction, an exhibit and auction of more than 1,000 works donated by artists from around the country.

With \$30,000 now in its bank account, the fund is organizing a panel to consider grant proposals, and Miller says that the first fellowships will be given out before the end of the year. He hopes it is just the beginning. "I think it could definitely take off," Miller says. "We're just going to have to get it going and see what happens."

To the streets: Miller got an early taste of politics at the age of five, walking precincts in his hometown of Whittier for Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign—under the tutelage of his staunchly Young Republican older brother. "That," he says, "ended my relationship to the Republican Party."

By the time he reached high school, Miller had already started creating performance pieces and had firmly established a solid gay identity. In 1978, at 19, he moved to New York, eager to explore the art scene there. He says it was during a stint as a bellhop when he "started planning class warfare."

As he began to establish himself in New York's performance art scene, Miller became disillusioned with an art world that he saw as too closeted and apolitical. He was openly critical of major art world figures. "[I called] Bob Wilson and Merce Cunningham apolitical lazy fags and stuff in print," he says. "That was bratty, but on some level I felt betrayed by artists who were actually at an incredible point of cultural power, and by all those queers in positions of cultural authority who didn't lift a finger to help our situation." Finally, believing the most exciting work was going on in California, Miller returned to the Los Angeles area in 1986.

Miller's performances are almost always solo pieces. Heavily autobiographical, they combine monologue and movement that is visually enhanced with occasional use of props and projections. A *Los Angeles Times* review of his most recent work, "Sex/Love/Stories," described Miller's technique as "explosions of physical and mental energy so coiled and spontaneous that the expression, no matter how raw, becomes at once artful and moving."

His work is political, sexual, often angry and sometimes wickedly funny. He describes his work this way: "I am a mutant performance artist from Alta, Calif.... I believe my social activism.... My sex juicy life.... My provocateur organizing.... My space building.... And my family Sunday dinners in Whittier are as much a part of my creative work as my performances. And look here, Sen. Jesse Helms, keep your Porky Pig face out of the NEA and out of my asshole.... Because I got work to do. ...

"I am a mutant performance artist from Alta, Calif. I believe our cultures can and should be wildly specific. Fuck so-called universality and neutrality. Leave it to television. And our challenge is to connect the dots. Learn from each other. Find the intercultural, intergenerational, interdisciplinary common ground future for our city."

Activated art: For Miller, art and politics are inextricably linked. His politics are up-front in his work: the politics of AIDS; gay and lesbian oppression and liberation; the Reagan-Bush era's insensitivity to the needs of anyone who is not a white, upper-middle-class heterosexual. As an active member of the Los Angeles chapter of ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), he has been arrested in ACT-UP demonstrations and staged numerous fundraisers for the group.

He travels frequently, performing and giving workshops at colleges, theaters and museums across the country and working with local groups such as ACT-UP. He delights in being able to help local groups get off the ground. He says "Sex/Love/Stories" makes a perfect combination of benefit performance and agitating vehicle. "It's really about a journey through gay identity, through AIDS and becoming energized and activated as a citizen."

The response he gets is usually positive, with notably unpleasant exceptions. One particularly

blatant case of AIDSphobia happened last year. Shortly after the NEA controversy, the Ohio Arts Council booked Miller to perform as part of a series of events dealing with cultural responses to the AIDS crisis.

"I was supposed to perform on a showboat. They told this guy in Columbus who was organizing the event, 'We can't have him here. We can't have gay people on our boat. The audience will never come back. They'll think they'll get AIDS from the toilet.' So they refused to allow me to perform on the boat and I had to perform in a hotel."

Miller is adamant about growing efforts to censor unconventional cultural expressions. "It's really clear to me there's this battle going on about mind control and information control in this country," he says. "It began way before the NEA stuff—you know, right-wing attacks on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and controlling what can be on the air, boycotts and pressures on advertisers of TV shows, network TV executives bowing under pressure from Donald Wildmon, photographers' studios being invaded by the FBI, museum curators being arrested. It's not surprising to see the way the media would collaborate with the government to control the news of the Gulf War."

He worries about the effect of all this on the arts community—or at least that portion of the arts community that tries to do challenging, topical, provocative work. "I think we're going to see lots of arts organizations destroyed. It was such a fragile ecology—how the arts worked in this country with basically no money. Four states have closed down their state arts agencies. Cities are panicky. And corporations are shying away from contemporary culture." Performance art spaces around the country are in trouble financially, he says, and it is such spaces that have been centers for alternative expression in their communities.

Artways: One performance space that is not in trouble, at least not yet, is Highways, founded by Miller and Linda Frye Burnham in Santa Monica, Calif., in 1989. Highways, although it receives a small amount of grant money, generates 70 percent of its revenue from ticket sales.

The place seems perpetually abuzz with activity—performances of all kinds, as well as a variety of classes and workshops, some of which Miller teaches. Highways' mission is aggressively multicultural. Recent performers have included the Los Angeles Black Repertory Company and famed performance artist Rachel Rosenthal. This past summer's schedule was dominated by two extended festivals, one highlighting Asian-American performers and another dealing with gay and lesbian themes. Events scheduled range from an evening of short pieces by Asian-American women writers to *AIDS! The Musical!* (see *In These Times*, Sept. 4). Meanwhile, the gallery-lobby featured paintings by Darrell Evers, son of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, dealing with "Things we do in the name of God."

Though Highways is not rolling in money, it has built a loyal and diverse following and seems in business to stay as an important part of the L.A. area's cultural life, a rare place where diverse cultures and ideologies can cross and mingle.

And that, ultimately, is what Tim Miller is about—"connecting the dots," as he puts it. In what he sees as an increasingly Orwellian period in American culture, diversity is treated as a threat—his own mother, "an Orange County Republican," was harassed earlier this year about the lack of yellow ribbons on her house.

Miller knows it will be an uphill battle, but it is a battle in which he is immersed. "I think art can change the way people view the world," he says. "I think art can change the world itself." □

Bruce Mirkin is a Los Angeles-based writer.

Brenneke was spending an American Express account in Seattle. Brenneke's con job was exposed by Peggy Adler Robohm, a researcher he had hired to help write his memoirs. To that end, he turned over to Robohm all of his papers, including credit card receipts, a personal calendar and a "daytimer" diary—all of which indicated that his earnest claims of a Paris sojourn were a ruse.

Facts and fancy: But not everything Brenneke has said about the October Surprise should be totally discounted. Brenneke was privy to inside information.

According to Snepp, in early 1986 a Brenneke conversation was recorded during a government sting operation that would later net 17 Israeli, European and American arms dealers for attempting to sell arms to Iran. Snepp reports that during the Jan. 7, 1986, phone conversation Brenneke discussed the fact that President Reagan would soon issue an executive order giving approval to the administration's 1986 arms-for-hostages deal. Reagan did so on Jan. 17.

In an Oct. 12, 1988, story I wrote on the 1980 scandal, much but not all of what Brenneke said was backed up by a then-unidentified source, former intelligence operative Oswald LeWinter, who claimed second-hand knowledge of the Paris meetings. The main difference in their accounts, besides the identity of some of the players, was that LeWinter discussed Israel's participation in the alleged deal, a fact that Brenneke omitted from his earlier statements about the deal.

What motivated Brenneke and LeWinter to begin talking to the press about the October Surprise?

Brenneke claims that he wanted to set the record straight. But journalists who followed his career as a public tattler have speculated that Brenneke might be working for Israeli interests. He does have some peripheral ties to Israeli intelligence, and he did omit mention of Israel as one of the key players in his original scenario of the 1980 deal.

Snepp concludes his reflections on being conned by Brenneke this way: "What is most troubling about Brenneke is that so much of what he says seems to be true. ... If Brenneke is someone's chosen mouthpiece, he seems almost to be begging to be discovered, for he carelessly volunteered to Robohm the very files that now betray him. That in turn raises an even more bizarre question, one worthy of Brenneke's most extreme fantasies. Was this easily discreditable Walter Mitty thrust into the October Surprise/Iran-contra rumor pool by someone out to sidetrack and sabotage the investigation?"

Unfortunately, for his noble work at popping the Brenneke bubble, those with overactive imaginations now see Snepp, a CIA veteran, as part of the conspiracy.

LeWinter, like Brenneke, is an operator who has ties to Israeli intelligence. Speculation has it that he too may have been working for some faction in the Israeli government. But in conversations I had with LeWinter in 1988, I saw no evidence of a pro-Israel stance. He did staunchly defend Edwin Wilson, the former CIA agent who is now in a federal pen for selling weapons to Libya. LeWinter claimed Wilson was a victim of CIA intra-office intrigue. Further, his dislike for Bush was exceeded only by his hatred for Carter, who he sees as having emasculated the agency. This raises the possibility that LeWinter's information about the October Surprise was leaked to him by disaffected elements within the agency.

Spooks on the loose: One close observer of the intelligence community maintains that the October Surprise allegations should be viewed as part of a "faction fight in U.S. intelligence circles" that has gone public.

The parties to this dispute can be divided, roughly speaking, into three camps. The first camp is composed of younger neo-conservatives. This group came into its ascendancy at the State Department during the Reagan years.

A second camp is made up of older, right-wing, anti-communists and even some neo-fascist and anti-Semitic elements. Many of these are veterans of the war against Castro. It is some of these old-time operators who were let go during the Carter administration's purge of the agency. Their influence is strongest now in military intelligence circles. It is this group that appears to be leaking information on the 1980 deal. These hardliners harbor deep resentment for the less-ideological CIA technocrats, such as Gregg and current CIA Director-designate Robert Gates, whose stars rose in the Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations.

Gates, Gregg and former CIA Director Bush are part of a third group: technocratic, company men who have become the dominant faction in the CIA. These real-politickers hold no love for either Israel or anti-communist ideologues. Members of this group survived the purge in the late '70s, and now they are fashioning their New World Order.

Enter without knocking

Illinois residents might want to think twice before buying that German shepherd pup. Dogs are now the domain of drug kingpins and under a new state law, owning one is reason enough for authorities to break into a person's home and search the place without identifying themselves. Of course, they would do this only to unsavory types suspected of gang crimes or drug conspiracies. Beginning January 1, officials will be able to obtain a so-called "no-knock warrant" if they believe the occupant of a building has access to firearms or explosives, has erected barriers such as steel doors, has installed a surveillance or alarm system, or has a dog. Republican state Rep. Edward Petka, who came up with the new law, says the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is "very, very uptight about this." Imagine that. The ACLU says that while the courts have upheld unannounced searches in certain circumstances, the Illinois law is probably unconstitutional because it would allow police to enter simply because someone has a dog or owns a gun. But Petka says he believes authorities are unlikely to abuse the new law because they would face civil penalties if they overstepped their bounds. Has that stopped overzealous law enforcement officials in the past? Not always.

What would you do?

San Francisco clothing manufacturer Esprit wants to sell clothes. But the company also wants to join the ranks of the politically correct. This month's *Vogue* features two attempts at getting people to think about issues. The company asks, "What would you do?" (to improve the world, one would suppose). It then provides two answers. The first comes from an African-American woman from New York, who says "end racism and the killing of my people in the streets." The second comes from a young Massachusetts woman who says, "keep a woman's right to choose... unless George Bush is free to baby-sit." It's pretty strong stuff in these times of measured responses, where newspapers and even politicians are afraid to take a definite stand on certain issues. The first statement is more a wake-up call than a call to action. End racism? OK, how? At least the second one supports something concrete—legal abortions. While some may complain that the ads won't change anything—the *New York Times* quipped, "Unfortunately, people who are for killing people in the street are probably not the target audience of the magazine,"—at least they are pushing the edge of the envelope. And if that's the fashion world's version of PC, it's OK.

Drop dead gorgeous

In the search for the perfect hairstyle, the Du Pont Company apparently went too far. During testing for "Project Delilah," an experimental effort in the late '60s to dry-clean the female coiffure, Du Pont allegedly exposed a test subject to lethal levels of Freon 113, a chlorofluorocarbon (CFC). The death, which occurred during testing in May 1967, was uncovered in a series of investigative articles about CFCs published in late August in Wilmington, Delaware's *News Journal*. The *News Journal* reported that testing for "Delilah"—a joint program by Du Pont and General Electric to clean hair without mussing hairstyles—continued for at least two years after the May 1967 mishap. Although more than 100 fatal heart attacks had been linked to Freon exposure by 1970, Du Pont failed to put warning labels on its Freon products until 1986. Du Pont Chairman of the Board E.S. Wooldard called the *Journal* reports, "a skillfully written but extremely biased series of articles. ... The health and safety of employees, customers and the public is a core value of the company, and they were not compromised in any way alleged or implied by the stories."

Two down, 48 to go

It's official—Massachusetts is the second state in the nation to pass civil-rights protection for gays and lesbians, reports Citizens for Participation in Political Action. The state Supreme Judicial Court has ruled unconstitutional an attempt, spearheaded by Citizens for Family First, to place the gay rights law on the November ballot for referendum. The ruling upheld Attorney General James Shannon's decision that a religious exemption in the law makes it ineligible for repeal. Many gay-rights proponents believe the precedent will boost efforts to pass similar legislation, particularly in the New England states, in 1991.

Agran hopes to change national priorities in Democratic race

"Larry Agran isn't exactly a household name," the former mayor of Irvine, Calif., concedes, but with his entrance into the race for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination, he hopes to help his party "find its soul again."

Known locally for his grass-roots approach to national and international issues, the ambitious candidate aims to "get the country's priorities straight again," says John Simon, director of campaign operations.

In his August 22 announcement of candidacy in Irvine, Agran outlined a campaign strategy for a "New American Security" that "puts human need at home ahead of military overkill abroad." He promised "deliverance from 45 years of Cold War thinking and Cold War politics," and an end to "the days of Democratic Party complicity in Cold War priorities."

The first step, says Agran, is to remove all U.S. forces from Europe and Japan by Dec. 31, 1994. "A bankrupt Soviet Union poses no military threat to the remarkably prosperous democracies of Europe and Japan," says Agran, and the nearly \$200 billion generated by the move could be put to better use "defending the interests of American citizens."

Agran's next step would be to cut \$10 billion from the foreign military aid budget. "American foreign aid should consist of food and agricultural assistance, education, family planning, and basic public health measures," says Agran, since "all too frequently, our government has sent foreign military aid to prop up corrupt governments in places like Panama and Iraq and El Salvador."

Finally, Agran says, he would immediately cancel all nuclear weapons testing as well as the B-2 bomber and the Star Wars space-based defense program. He says he would also sign a comprehensive test ban treaty and disassemble nearly all of the 50,000 nuclear bombs that the U.S. and Soviet Union still possess.

Leaving the U.S. with a "fully adequate defense budget" of no more than \$150 billion per year, Agran says he would then return \$25 billion per year in direct emergency assistance to America's cities and towns, divide \$15 billion per year among each school district in the U.S., invest \$40 billion per year in social security programs and put \$20 billion per year toward new environmental protection programs. The remaining \$50 billion, Agran says, would be used to reduce the annual federal budget deficits and institute

INSHORT



Larry Agran

a "Defense Workers' Bill of Rights" for the training, education and employment of demobilized troops and civilian defense workers.

Agran says his campaign aims to change the meaning of "national security," which during the Cold War connoted military might directed against a threat from outside. But this sort of national security "has actually produced pervasive national insecurity," Agran says, because it diverts much-needed resources from America's cities to military build-up. The reallocation of these scarce resources to the American people will make us stronger abroad, Agran says, since "national security comes not only from weapons but from strong families in economically vibrant communities."

Agran, a graduate of University of California at Berkeley and Harvard Law School, was elected to the Irvine City Council in arch-conservative Orange County in 1978. In a region where GOP voters outnumber Democrats two-to-one, this former '60s activist became the city's first directly elected mayor in 1984, winning a reputation as a radical leader with national and global goals who encouraged constituents to think imaginatively and broadly about local government.

"I think I have been able to make the public reconnect foreign and military policy with democracy here at home, so that nuclear disarmament is regarded as a local issue that ordinary citizens can debate," Agran says.

During his term as Irvine's mayor, Agran preached and practiced "think globally, act locally" politics, sometimes drawing criticism that he had an agenda that went beyond his 110,000 Irvine constituents.

Agran kept progressive ideas alive during the stifling Reagan-Bush era, and under him, Irvine became what the *Los Angeles Times* called "a laboratory for social policy."

In July 1989, Agran authored the

nation's strongest and most comprehensive municipal ordinance to eliminate chlorofluorocarbons and other related compounds in any industrial process. Local businesses initially opposed the policy out of fear that production costs would skyrocket. But AST, a computer firm with a local branch in Irvine, recently announced that, once installed, the new processing standards actually reduced their costs. The company plans to institute the Irvine-originated policy in its plants world-wide, says Simon.

After he narrowly lost his re-election bid in 1990 to Republican Sally Anne Sheridan and before embarking on his own campaign trail to the White House, Agran chaired former South Dakota Sen. George McGovern's exploratory committee for the Democratic presidential nomination. When McGovern announced that a "younger, less battle-scarred" candidate should run for the White House, Agran took up the challenge.

Agran says he is running for president because the problems that have occupied his political life in the last 12 years are not being addressed—either by Republicans or fellow Democrats. And with rapid changes in the Soviet Union, Agran says this is a key time to reduce military spending and reorganize national priorities.

The heart of Agran's strategy is a "city hall to city hall" campaign. To make his message hit home, Agran provides "cold, hard numbers" whenever he can. He wants to use a grass-roots approach to tell Americans that cutting the military budget in half would provide 10 to 20 percent in additional funds for urban America.

But the cold, hard numbers are scarce in Agran's own budget. The campaign's current bankroll of \$50,000 may just barely keep him in the running. Simon says he knows that they're fighting an uphill battle, but remains optimistic that they will raise the \$5,000 in 20 states necessary to qualify for matching federal funds and be competitive in the race.

And though Simon says what Agran lacks in name recognition, he compensates for in message; he has already been dubbed a "dark-horse candidate" by the *New York Times*. And, Simon concedes, Agran has had a hard time getting mentioned on the major networks.

Agran, joined by Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder, and former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas, will at least provide the American people with an alternative to Bush's empty promises for a "kinder, gentler" nation and the complicit politics of the Democrats on Capitol Hill. Ultimately, Agran hopes, they can succeed in "reshaping the Democratic Party."

—Deirdre Shesgreen

For more information, contact Agran for President '92 at 1-800-727-9425, or P.O. Box 159, Irvine, CA 92650.

By Steve Badrich

BALTIMORE, MD.

THIS SUMMER, THE PICTURE ON HIS CAMPAIGN yard signs was all that most Baltimoreans saw of first-term incumbent Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke: Schmoke's smooth brown features and trademark wire-rimmed glasses set off against the hurtling teardrop of a Baltimore & Ohio diesel, its midnight blue metal picking up the color of Schmoke's suit. The real Schmoke was unavailable. As he coasted to his September 12 primary victory, the

POLITICS

squeaky-clean mayor stonewalled every attempt to force him to debate his Democratic challengers.

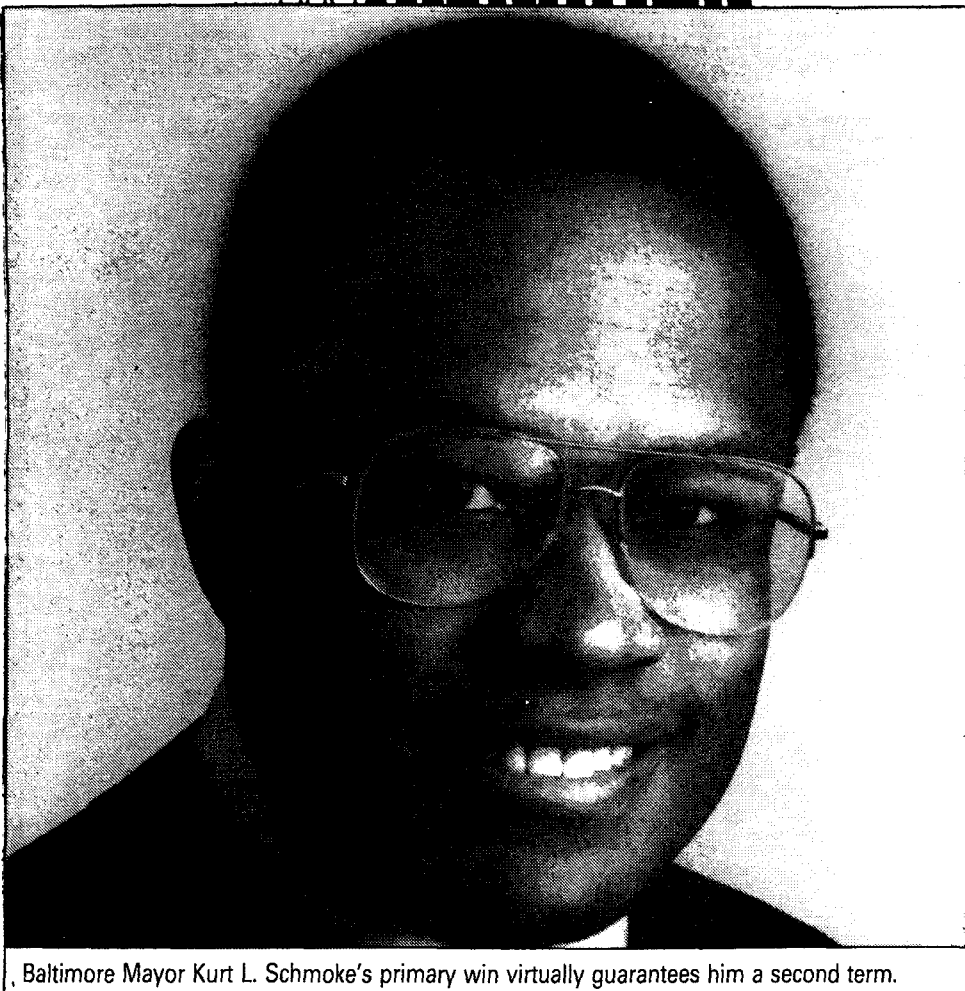
Schmoke's campaign manager, Larry S. Gibson, obviously distrusted his candidate's preoccupied manner and lockjaw speaking style. Gibson, a black law professor and political operative, devoted a large chunk of the campaign's \$1.25 million to television ads. It proved to be a fail-safe method of reaching a fragmented electorate directly—over the heads of the weakened neighborhood organizations and other groups that were once decisive in city politics.

Gibson's strength as a strategist was to realize just how long the sick-list of such intermediary groups had become. The city's legendary political clubs are fading, slowly. The city's unions seem cowed. As mayor, Schmoke has conducted a war of nerves against 28,000 city workers—closing a fire house here or city-run recreation hall there; floating the idea of layoffs, then backing off. But Schmoke still picked up endorsements from union leaders who feared somebody worse. It was the same for the city's progressives and for black neighborhoods that distrusted Schmoke's challengers, such as white law-and-order candidate William Swisher. Groups without "realistic hope" (a Schmoke catch-phrase) consulted their fears.

On election day, Gibson put 3,000 people on the street, many of them city employees and most in unlikely "Schmoke" railroad caps. (Gibson has been quoted as saying that trains suggest "power and direction." The campaign's "Schmoke Train" radio jingle, a cover of the O'Jays' "Love Train," featured lyrics adapted by Gibson.) Schmoke won comfortably, with 57.5 percent of the vote—nearly twice as much as his nearest challenger, black machine Democrat Clarence "Du" Burns. (The turnout was only 35 percent, the city's lowest since 1979.) And in a city with a Democratic registration advantage of nine to one, Schmoke has little to fear in November.

Say nothing, do nothing: Schmoke's craven campaign left a bad taste in the mouths of many Baltimoreans, some Schmoke voters included. Since his victory, Schmoke has stuck to a line of defense he has used before—that quiet merit like his necessarily tends to seem more boring than a grandstanding political style like that of former Mayor William Donald Schaefer. "I'm Kurt Schmoke," he informed the city's monopoly *Sun* dailies, which had criticized his "stealth" campaign. "I'm not Arsenio Hall."

Schmoke's interpretation aside, what happened in Baltimore this summer—and, equally important, what didn't happen—offers some lessons about the dilemmas facing



Baltimore Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke's primary win virtually guarantees him a second term.

Schmoke but no fire in Baltimore election

today's big-city liberal mayors.

Schmoke ought to have been in trouble, even on his preferred safe issues. He has had three school superintendents in four years. Schmoke hired the second one himself, then fell out with him in an acrimonious, long-running public melodrama. Schmoke's high-profile "literacy campaign" is a local joke, one that borders on the surreal. Benches and city vehicles have been repainted with the legend, "The City That Reads," and the mayor continues to give out his signature gray-and-yellow bookmarks with their yellow tassels. But city schools remain anarchic, and the dropout rate in the Schmoke years has actually increased. Given the city's disappearing industrial base, a small army of Baltimore youth is also unemployed, with both the time and an incentive to go out and jack the crime rate up still higher. Baltimoreans refer to "The City That Bleeds."

On crime, Schmoke was also vulnerable. As a city prosecutor, Schmoke had sought the death penalty. But as mayor, Schmoke became briefly famous in 1988 when he made some heartfelt, off-the-cuff remarks arguing for "decriminalization" as a solution to the drug problem. Whatever one thinks of this proposal, no doubt there's a real idea lurking here somewhere. But it's an idea that Schmoke might have found difficult to defend in debate—if there had been a debate.

Schmoke's quirky, bottled-up personality was a potential campaign liability in its own right.

"Schmoke is ... a black Mike Dukakis," says Bill Hughes, a compact former longshoreman who was later a prosecutor under Schaefer. "He lacks political roughhousing ability. He hasn't got the common touch. He's no speaker. He's just not a very good people guy." Hughes cups his hands. "To be political, you have to be, in a sense, a little spiritual.

You have to make people believe in something in common. In the beginning, Schaefer could do that. Schmoke can't."

Dollars from D.C.: But as Hughes acknowledges, Schaefer was backed up by material advantages that are no longer available to Schmoke. In the heyday of the federal bloc grant, it rained soup in Baltimore. Schaefer's showpiece Inner Harbor, a shoppers' theme park that reputedly attracts more visitors than Disneyland, was made possible by federal money. It's impolite to recall this fact today, when political discourse is dominated by Schmoke's allies on the Greater Baltimore Committee, well-connected flacks for the local corporate agenda. It's even less polite

Accepting Schmoke's assumptions means accepting the problems of the contemporary city as insoluble.

to remember the promises, later quietly repudiated, that city hall made back then to other stressed-out city neighborhoods. But it's nevertheless true that significant amounts of federal money did make it down to the street, to engender a widespread (if transitory) sense of optimism.

But by the time Schmoke became mayor in 1987, those days were a memory and the city core had already assumed the "Blade Runner" aspect it retains today. By night, the black harbor water reflects back the lights of strange structures like Scarlett Place, a former seed warehouse that was rehabbed and then decorated with postmodern gingerbread to become somebody's idea of "a Mediterranean hilltop village." For a mere \$195,000 (marked down for the recession), you can buy

a small condo here. (Most are empty.) But walk a mile away from the water in almost any direction, off the cobblestones and past college kids drifting toward a Fells Point bar, and you enter another Baltimore, another America, where the phones on the street don't work and neither do the people on the corners.

In another era, Schaefer could at least talk about somehow, someday addressing the problems of this anti-world. Schmoke can't even do that. At bottom, Schmoke's starting assumptions are those of Harvard Law School, or of Piper and Marbury, the blueblood law firm where Schmoke worked before running for city prosecutor in 1982. So it's not surprising that Schmoke's policy ideas, such as they are, come straight out of the leaden reports written by analysts for the Greater Baltimore Committee and similar elite working groups. Theirs is a familiar litany: cut municipal spending, cut the property tax, adopt an "entrepreneurial" approach to education, and so on.

After years of Reaganism, the public has grown inured to all this. It sounds impressive. (It's not for nothing that Schmoke draws votes not only from black east and west Baltimore but from yuppie-to-rich enclaves like north Baltimore's Roland Park.) The only problem, which the public long ago sensed, is that accepting assumptions like Schmoke's means accepting the problems of the contemporary city as insoluble. It means reducing the role of a big-city mayor to explaining, on the basis of the numbers in some weenie's report, why nothing can be done for the majority of the city's citizens.

What Schmoke ignores: Is an alternative politics even possible? Oh, sure—but not for Kurt Schmoke, who's not about to step outside the box of assumptions that has him stopped. Such a move would take him places he wouldn't care to go. After all, for the sake of argument, why not raise city money by properly taxing the enormous Baltimore real estate holdings of Johns Hopkins University? Or by renegotiating the sweetheart deals the city cut with Inner Harbor developer James Rouse? Why not revive rent control, which passed in a 1979 city-wide referendum, only to be thrown out by a judge?

In practice, such an alternative politics may not be an option right now in Baltimore, even for the rare politician willing to entertain such heretical thoughts.

Down in south Baltimore's Sixth District, city council candidate Bob Simpson started off his primary campaign by trying to pull together an interracial ticket to address "poor and working people's issues" like "housing, health care and jobs." Simpson is a white union activist who got into electoral politics after the Duralite Truck Body plant where he worked was deliberately bankrupted by management.

Simpson's campaign failed, spectacularly. His proposed interracial ticket fell victim to a mean black-white race that shaped up in the Sixth after it was redistricted by the city council. The real fight turned out to be between the incumbent (white) slate of the Stonewall Democratic Club and a new black "unity" ticket that sought to replace them. (Stonewall won a decision, for now.) Simpson received 1,258 votes, a little more than 2 percent of those cast.

But his ideas, unlike the reports of the analysts, remain in the public domain. □

Steve Badrich is a writer and journalist.

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 25-OCT. 1, 1991 7

Salomon

Continued from page 3

hour after the market closed at the February 21 auction. But the department allowed Salomon to continue to play the market and manipulate securities prices until mid-August. During that period, the firm's violations grew more and more blatant.

Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady was forced to act after Salomon admitted to wrongdoing. On August 18, he banned Salomon from playing the securities market for an indefinite period. Salomon's board was called into session, accepted resignations from the firm's three top executives, and voted Buffet acting chairman and chief executive officer (CEO). Buffet quickly telephoned Brady and pleaded for a more lenient sentence. An old Dillon, Read CEO himself, Brady could hardly bear the responsibility of dealing Salomon a potential death blow. He lifted the ban and levied a token penalty of restricting Salomon from placing bids on securities for its customers.

Cash-22: The episode illustrates Treasury's tenuous position of having to police its creditors for lending it too much money. But Salomon

Brothers is more than just a creditor. Since entering the primary market in 1917, the firm has raised more capital for the federal government than any other. Moreover, the firm has consistently gone beyond the call of fiduciary duty to help the United States execute its foreign policy for most of this century. Salomon, one of the first brokerage houses to recognize the Federal Reserve Bank, marketed allied bonds during World War I and Asian, European and Latin American paper during the '20s. When the government created the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934, other Wall Street firms went on strike, refusing to succumb to government regulation. A good soldier, Salomon broke the strike by acting as agent for a bond that was in compliance with SEC laws. At the behest of the federal government, in 1962 Salomon underwrote an AT&T bond to lend confidence to the market during the Cuban missile crisis. Salomon partner William Simon took a pay cut when he joined the Nixon administration in the '70s, and he ran Treasury for Gerald Ford in 1974. In a Salomon-published biography of the firm called *Salomon Brothers 1910-1985: Advancing Toward Leadership*, author Robert Sobel quotes one

client who sums up the relationship rather succinctly: "Being a partner in that firm [Salomon] is the closest thing to being a partner in the U.S. Treasury."

That statement has never been more accurate. Like a satellite that enters the gravity field of a larger mass, a government agency that gets too close to Wall Street is in danger of becoming part of it. And Salomon's recent revelations could only increase public cynicism when paying taxes to a treasury involved in what Rep. Dennis E. Eckart (D-OH) called an "incestuous relationship" with Wall Street.

While Salomon's violations ripped off the firm's competition, they actually benefited the government. Salomon's cornering of the market and subsequent manipulation of securities prices raised the price of the bonds, thus lowering the government's borrowing cost. Treasury officials, charged with keeping borrowing costs down, looked the other way. Treasury is often reluctant to regulate, even when faced with blatant violations of its rules. And Wall Street likes it like that. Only when Salomon's competitors began to scream did the Treasury move to enforce its regulations.

Pressure from the East: Talk on the street has it that a number of Japanese firms in the U.S. primary securities market threatened to boycott the auctions if Treasury did not enforce its laws. The Japanese brokerages are said to control about 20 to 30 percent of any given U.S. Treasury auction, and a boycott would have weakened demand and raised Treasury's interest rates. Japan's most powerful brokers are themselves embroiled in scandal and faced with a broad investigation by the Japanese government. Wall Streeters

say that the Tokyo scandal was triggered by Salomon, said to have pressured the Japanese Finance Ministry to prosecute firms that selectively compensate the losses of their leading customers.

If punishing Salomon was a bitter pill for Treasury to swallow, then Salomon's implication that it is not alone in violating Treasury rules should taste like hemlock. The firm released a list of "Interim Changes to Treasury Auction Procedures" at its August 18 board meeting, after admitting to having broken the rules. In the time-honored tradition of Wall Street etiquette, Salomon refused to take the rap. Instead it pointed the finger at its competitors. The changes order Salomon employees to "comply with all rules, regulations and procedures stipulated for Treasury auctions regardless of any norms or practices followed by other government dealers." This text was repeated, in its entirety, on four separate instances in the 12-page release. Asked why such language was included, Salomon spokesperson Sarah Campbell said she could only answer the question off the record. Invited to comment without attribution, she refused. Her boss, Salomon's Director of Corporate Communications Robert F. Baker Jr., did not return *In These Times'* phone calls.

Coming on the heels of the S&L scandal, the insolvency of bank insurance funds and the dangerously imbalanced portfolios of Treasury-backed mortgage guarantees, widespread Wall Street failures threaten to accelerate the growth of the national debt, which would be just fine with the firms that survive.

Matthew Reiss writes regularly for the *Village Voice*.

With Apologies to Aesop

Once upon a time in the ancient city of Jerusalem, three sons were born: one a Jew, one a Christian and one a Moslem. The old woman in charge of the nursery could not see well and, alas, the three babies were mixed up.

The Jew was taken to a Moslem household, the Christian to a Jewish home and the Moslem for baptism in a Christian family.

So it came to pass that when the three boys grew to manhood, there was bad blood and much hate among Jew, Christian and Moslem, so that the Jew raised as a Moslem slew the Moslem of Christian birth. The Christian, son of Islam, put to sword the Jew born of Christ, and the Moslem, sired by a Jew, strangled the Christian born of Islam.

In the name of all merciful God-Allah-Jehovah—amid great misery and loud lament—the land was drenched with blood.

Moral: Life without religion is better, much better.

—Nicholas Stephen Poluhoff

Non-Toxic Home

Wood

lives through

its warm color, its

lively structure, familiar

scent, and pleasant surface; **wood**

breathes with natural primers, finishes,

and balms made from plant oils, tree resins,

and waxes. **Walls are our third skin** due to their

influence on indoor climate, their

harmony of colors, and their utilization

of natural coating materials.

A **biological wall-design** with

wall-paints, colors, and plant lasures

made from natural pigments and

binding agents (non-petroleum) –

free of harmful fumes, for the

healthy home. **TRUST NATURE.**

AURO

The natural solution for paint and surface treatment

- Impregnations, Lasurs and Waxes

- Clear and tinted Lacquers

- Wallpaints and Glues

- Plant Cleaners and Polishes

- Plant Colors for Painting and Modeling

SINAN CO. – Natural Building Materials Dept.

P.O. Box 857, Davis, CA 95617-0857... (916) 753-3104

By David Moberg

DIOXIN, BRANDED THE MOST TOXIC SYNTHETIC substance ever created in a 1985 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) study, is once again at the forefront of a high-stakes political and scientific debate.

In this battle, the Bush administration appears far more concerned about the threat regulation poses to corporate financial health than about the dangers dioxin presents to the health of both humans and wildlife. Dioxin has been the key villain in many of the U.S.'s landmark environmental nightmares—including the Love Canal, Times Beach and Agent Orange controversies—and has been at the center of other, less celebrated disputes over local waste incinerators, pulp and paper mills, and users of pesticides.

In June, the EPA began a year-long re-assessment of the toxicity of dioxins, a family of chlorinated hydrocarbons that are the unwanted but unavoidable by-products of many current industrial processes.

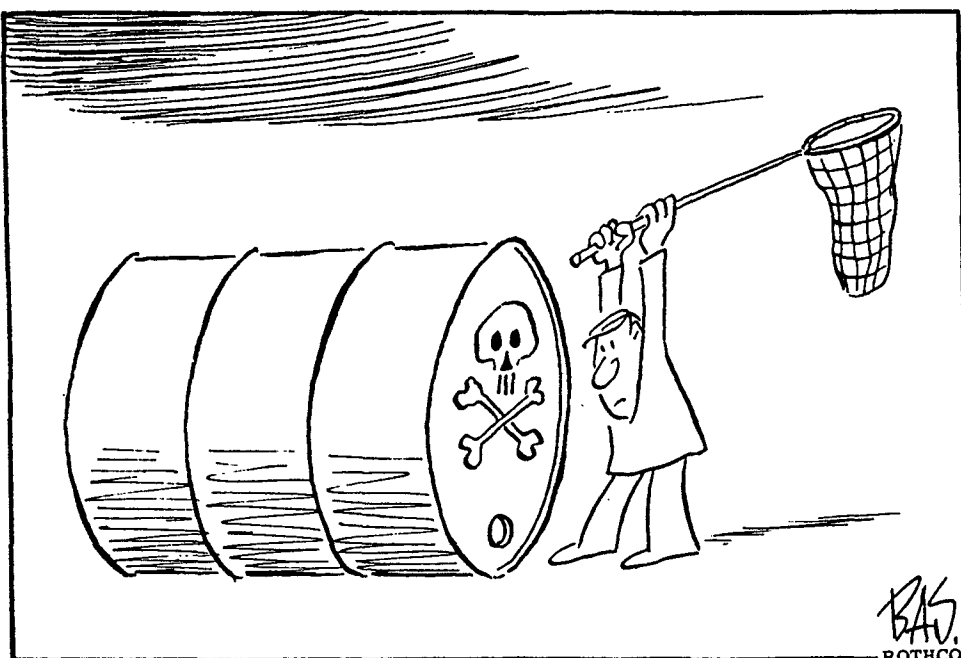
Risk re-assessment: Dioxin first was featured in a major public debate during the United States' military defoliation program in Vietnam. Since then, corporations have fought for weak regulations, insisting that opponents have exaggerated dioxin's dangers. But many industry claims are supported by badly flawed and deliberately fraudulent studies.

The full weight of accumulating evidence suggests that dioxins are at least as dangerous as—maybe even more dangerous than—previously thought. Also, the debate over the precise toxicity of dioxins obscures a fundamental point of public health. There is no need for people to submit to the risks of dioxins while scientists try to determine those dangers, especially since the industrial processes that produce dioxins could all be eliminated and replaced with safer technologies (see *In These Times*, Aug. 7).

In its 1985 study, the EPA concluded that the maximum allowable daily intake of TCDD (the most toxic of the dioxins) was an astonishingly tiny six-one-thousandths of a picogram (one-trillionth of a gram) per kilogram of body weight, or less than half a picogram per average adult. Even this level would produce an additional one cancer per million people, making dioxin millions of times more carcinogenic than, say, vinyl chloride or trichloroethylene, two well-known carcinogens.

There was an immediate counterattack by industry, aided by officials within the Reagan-Bush administrations. Syntex Corp., responsible for cleaning up the evacuated town of Times Beach, Missouri, produced graphs showing how slight changes in permissible dioxin levels would radically change its cleanup costs. Twice, the EPA's Science Advisory Panel rejected an agency working group's attempts to make dioxin standards more lenient. Outside research firms, acting at the behest of the chlorine and paper industries, proposed new standards and re-interpreted previous experiments to make dioxin seem safer.

The EPA also cooperated with the paper industry, according to a federal judge's ruling, to suppress their discovery of heavy concentrations of dioxins in the effluent from paper mills that used chlorine bleach. Last October the Chlorine Institute sponsored a scientific conference on dioxin at the Banbury Center in New York, then released its own inaccurate report on a non-existent



Will EPA's scientists study dioxin to death?

consensus that dioxin was not as dangerous as once believed.

Dr. Vernon Houk of the Centers for Disease Control, which advised the EPA in its decision to clear Times Beach, has also recently claimed that the evacuation was unnecessary since new evidence suggests dioxin is at worst a "weak carcinogen." Houk is hardly the disinterested scientist: he admitted copying virtually verbatim from paper industry documents in proposing relaxed standards for dioxin. Many revisionists like Houk

SCIENCE

would increase the permissible levels of dioxin a thousandfold.

Although conducted in the language of science, the battles are intensely political, and often distort the purported science. In 1979 Monsanto, which faced huge potential liability from Agent Orange lawsuits by Vietnam veterans, commissioned research by scientists on the after effects of a 1949 industrial accident involving dioxin. But the groups of workers compared were drawn up in misleading and inaccurate ways "specifically in order to allow the data to be manipulated," a 1990 Greenpeace review of the research claimed. Other scientists have also concluded that the studies were so badly done that they must be considered fraudulent, but for years the Monsanto studies were the basis for claims that dioxin had no proven serious health effects on humans.

Citizens who have fought against dioxin and the industries that produce it have at times paid a price. Cate Jenkins, an EPA scientist who has persisted in viewing dioxins as dangerous nearly lost her job and is still harassed. Peter Montague, editor of *Rachel's*

A 1991 study shows the average American consumes 200 times the EPA's permissible dose of dioxin.

Hazardous Waste News, was recently sued for quoting court documents that label the Monsanto studies fraudulent. And last March arsonists destroyed the home and office of Pat Costner, Greenpeace USA's toxics research director (recalling the possible 1978 arson that destroyed the home and killed all four children of Carol Van Strum, an early protestor against dioxin).

Across the threshold: Much of the current revisionist assault revolves around the growing consensus that dioxins, which resemble steroid hormones, act through a protein receptor in the cell. Dioxin apologists have seized on this theory to argue that because this intermediary step is involved there is some threshold exposure of dioxin, below which it has no effect on humans. Some European countries, under the influence of their chemical industries, have assumed all carcinogens have such thresholds. But the EPA works on a linear model that assumes steadily increasing damage as doses increase from zero.

Ellen K. Silbergeld, a professor of toxicology at the University of Maryland who conducts receptor research, says current receptor studies provide no reason for abandoning the EPA's method. According to Silbergeld, "nothing implies the receptor model is more relaxed [in levels of acceptable exposure]." Furthermore, she says little is still understood about how dioxin receptors work or what relation they have to cancers.

So, what do we know about dioxin?

• First, the most comprehensive long-term study of workers exposed to dioxin, a National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) study published last January, showed a clear correlation between dioxin exposure and cancer (46 percent more than the general population for workers with a year or more of exposure). This gives added weight to earlier studies showing dioxin causes cancer in humans, not just animals. EPA's Jenkins recently submitted a 132-page affidavit in a new lawsuit by Agent Orange victims summarizing much research since 1984 that demonstrates dioxin's health effects on humans.

• Second, even though the results of the NIOSH study were less clear in demonstrat-

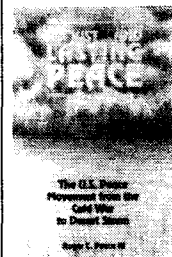
ing cancer among workers with limited exposure, later analyses of the NIOSH data by researchers such as Tom Webster of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Queens College have shown that dioxin toxicity for humans is about the same as it was for rats in the research that led to the EPA's current standards. Contrary to the dioxin apologists, there does not appear to be a huge disparity between effects of dioxin on humans and animals.

• Third, even though the revisionists are mainly challenging dioxin's dangers as a carcinogen, there is growing evidence that dioxin's main threats to health may come through other effects. Animal studies have shown that dioxin causes a wide range of non-cancer illnesses. Those include reproductive disorders—such as failure to reproduce, sexual abnormalities, and "feminization" of males; a "wasting syndrome" (failure to grow and thrive); physical and behavioral abnormalities of offspring; and interference with the immune system. (In the past EPA has not taken into account at all the effects of dioxin on wildlife—clearly a gross omission.)

Limited research on humans indicates many of the same effects. Linda Birnbaum, the EPA scientist heading the review of dioxin, acknowledged to *Chemical and Engineering News* that humans may be most sensitive to dioxin's effects on the immune system and not in the creation of cancers. Birnbaum said the immune system may be so vulnerable that the current standards might not be revised even if there were changed views of dioxin as a carcinogen. Indeed, one recent German study showed

Continued on following page

Insight For The Progressive Mind



A JUST AND LASTING PEACE: The U.S. Peace Movement from the Cold War to Desert Storm

by Roger C. Peace III This eye-opening book provides the "real story" behind CIA

and U.S. military involvement in Nicaragua, South Africa and the Persian Gulf. Takes the reader into the heart of movement campaigns for nuclear disarmament and human rights.

350 pages photos/maps \$14.95



LIVE THIS BOOK: Abbie Hoffman's Philosophy for a Free and Green America by Ted Becker, PhD. and Tony Dodson

Shows how Hoffman's life as a political satirist was akin to that of Mark Twain and Charlie Chaplin, while his political philosophy is heir to Jefferson, Emerson and Thoreau. 117 pages \$8.95

THE GOOD HEART BOOK: A Guide To Volunteering by David Driver The most comprehensive guide on volunteering and social advocacy today. "One of the most significant books I have read on social change."—St. Anthony Messenger 240 pages \$9.95

Noble Press Titles are available at fine bookstores or order toll-free 800-486-7737. Free shipping on orders of two or more books. Call for your free catalog.

Dioxin

Continued from preceding page

that immune cells were affected by the presence of as few as ten molecules of dioxin per cell. Simply from background dioxin exposure, mainly through food, the average adult American now has about 26 molecules of dioxin per cell present in his or her body.

According to a 1991 study in *Environmental Science and Technology*, the average American—not exposed to any special dioxin dangers—already consumes daily about 200 times the EPA's permissible dose. (This pervasive exposure, of course, makes it difficult for scientists to find a control population to compare with people who have been more heavily exposed.)

• Fourth, the research on protein receptors suggests that many other chlorinated hydrocarbons, like polychlorinated biphenyls

(PCBs), probably act like dioxins and should be evaluated with them. That would increase the current level of dioxin-like substances in the average person by a factor of roughly 15, according to Birnbaum. Also, since dioxins seem to interact with other toxic chemicals, it is impossible to evaluate its toxicity without taking into account this these complex interactions.

• Fifth, much of the research on human effects of dioxin have focused on adult men (factory workers, farmers, Vietnam vets, for example), but there is strong evidence that dioxins have much more powerful and damaging effects on fetuses, infants and women.

A revisionist future? Whatever the ultimate outcome of the Bush administration and corporate assault on dioxin safety standards, any interim doubts raised will help business and conservative allies win law-

suits and influence state legislators on matters such as setting water quality standards. The reassessment of dioxin, a powerful symbol of the age of toxics, could also provide a potent weapon in the general attack on current methods of risk assessment for all toxic substances, using science as a veil for corporate interests. Right-wing groups, such as Accuracy in Media or Federal Focus, a lobbying group headed by Reagan's discredited former occupational health director, have promoted the new revisionism on health risk assessment.

Revising the dioxin threat downward would benefit many powerful corporations, including the chemical industry, pesticide makers and users, waste incinerators, and the paper industry. The latter industry includes many large newspaper publishers, such as the *New York Times*, whose editors failed to reveal their conflict of interest in

an editorial endorsing a revision of the dioxin standard.

Ultimately, assessing risk is only partly a matter of science, argues Barry Commoner, director of the Center for Biology of Natural Systems. "There are so many assumptions involved you can make it come out any way you damn please," he says. Risk assessment is inevitably a matter of judgment and policy. According to Commoner, good public health policy dictates that "you should do everything you can to prevent a disease." In this case, Commoner says prevention means banning all dioxin-producing industrial processes.

Such a move would cost many corporations dearly. But since so many other toxic chemicals are associated with the accidental production of dioxins, a dioxin ban would bring corollary health and environmental benefits.

To avoid future dioxin-style dangers, government policy should require industry to demonstrate the safety of new compounds first, rather than assume chemicals are innocent until proven guilty and then try to regulate their damage. With the data already in hand about dioxins, argues Greenpeace research director Costner, "it's immoral and criminal for the government to continue the idiotic arguments about how many angels dance on the head of a pin as far as cancer is concerned." □

BEAT BUSH DRAFT RALPH



We need your support.

☐ YES, I support Ralph Nader for President.

☐ YES, I will contribute _____ \$25 _____ \$50 _____ \$100 _____ \$250 _____ \$1,000

RALPH NADER: A CHOICE FOR A CHANGE

Committee to Draft Ralph Nader for President
P.O. Box 9342
Washington, D.C. 20005

Paid for by the Committee to Draft Ralph Nader for President
Matthew Rothschild & Carl Mayer Co-Treasurers

Donnelly/Colt Custom Printing

Box 188-ITT, Hampton, Ct. 06247; (203) 455-9621. Fax: (203) 455-9597. Buttons, bumper stickers, posters, postcards. In stock items available. Union-made. Color 32-page catalog (recycled paper) \$1.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ **MOVING.**

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING.** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTND**

☐ **RENEWING.** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ASTND**

☐ **SHOPPING.** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **ASTND**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICE / TERM

- ☐ One year: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months: \$18.95
- ☐ Student/retired, One year: \$24.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my VISA/MC

ACCT. NO. _____

EXP. DATE _____

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$41.00 per year. Canadian orders add \$27.00 per year.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

By Paul Hockenos

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA

DURING THE COLD WAR, YUGOSLAVIA'S CRITICAL intelligentsia enjoyed a freedom that its counterparts in the East bloc could only envy. Grudgingly, and not always continuously, Marshal Tito's soft dictatorship ceded intellectuals the space to organize, publish and meet with Western colleagues. By the mid-'60s, the country's philosophers and sociologists had won themselves high acclaim throughout Western Europe. Alongside the ivory tower, a sophisticated culture of debate and dissidence flourished in Yugoslav society.

By the '80s, however, that tradition had already waned. The bankruptcy of "real, existing socialism" had leftist intellectuals disillusioned with the project of socialism in general. When the wave of nationalism broke, it carried with it a shocking proportion of the country's academics and scholars. Today, where nationalism is the rule in every republic, oppositions are feeble and constructive debate is non-existent.

The Serbian intelligentsia, above all, has supplied historical and theoretical rationales *ad nauseum* to reinforce the logic of Serb nationalism. Even during the early post-war decades in Belgrade, the language of class struggle and anti-fascism was implicitly that of the struggle of Serbs against Croats, Hungarians and Albanians. By the time Serbia's Communist leadership embraced nationalism wholeheartedly in 1987, Belgrade's intellectuals had already paved the way.

Dialectic of dissidence: At the cutting edge of critical Yugoslav thought during the '60s and '70s was the renowned Praxis school. A group of radical thinkers that centered around the theoretical journal *Praxis*, the "partisan professors" took Yugoslavia's official critique of Soviet communism to heart. With academic rigor, they applied their own left Marxist critique to the rigid brand of orthodox ideology that prevailed at home in Yugoslavia.

The difference between the Praxis philosophers and Eastern Europe's familiar dissidents of the '80s is that the Yugoslavs were socialists. Yugoslav Communism, the critics stressed, had precious little in common with the democratic, humanist socialism that they found in the writings of the early Marx. They argued that Marxist theory was neither an end in itself nor an ideological cloak for the ruling elite—it was a means to transform society.

In the pages of *Praxis* and at the annual Korcula Summer School, the names of Europe's foremost radical thinkers—from Marcuse to Sartre—appeared with regularity. The Praxis group's ideas were integral to the '60s Yugoslav student-protest movement. Yet, shortly after the movement's suppression, their own confrontation with the regime came to a head. In 1975, eight of the school's leading theorists—the so-called Belgrade Eight—were expelled from their university posts and the *Praxis* journal was shut down.

Disonant dissidents: Today, the consensus that once united the critical theorists from Belgrade and Zagreb has dissipated. Most have backed away from their earlier radicalism. Their post-Marxist paths have taken strikingly different directions, leading some to the French schools of deconstruction and post-structuralism, others to vari-

Yugoslav Praxis school suffers identity crisis

ous forms of liberalism and yet others to nationalism. Nevertheless, many of the former Praxis members remain in the political fray—but now at odds with each other as well as their Marxist pasts.

Armed with liberal blueprints, one branch of the Praxis group continues the tradition of dissidence from the platform of the democratic opposition in Serbia. Opposition groups such as the Serbian Democratic Party and the Yugoslavian Democratic Movement

IDEOLOGY

find former Praxis people at the top of their leaderships.

From his office in the University of Belgrade's philosophy department, Professor Miladin Zivotic heads the Citizens' Action for Peace. Although he distances himself from Marxism as such, he sees a continuity in many of the Praxis ideas and those of the liberal opposition today.

He explains that central to the Praxis project was a relentless critique of the governing ideology. Zivotic and his colleagues felt the country's Communist orthodox dogma had mystified human relations to the point that people lost their capacity for meaningful action. "We looked into the possibilities for the self-realization of the human being in order to locate the possibility of self-government and radical democracy in society," he says. From the young Marx they adopted the concept of the human being as the active subject, capable of transforming himself and the world around him.

Today, Zivotic considers his views closer to the ideals of Western social democracy and his philosophical positions more in the tradition of contemporary French philosophy. "What we tried to do in the '60s was to actualize the socialist ideals that the ruling polit-bureaucracy claimed to hold in theory," he says over a stack of dissertations piled high on his desk. "Our critique of the system was always a quarrel within the family." It is that socialist family to which Zivotic no longer belongs.

First, he says, a liberal democratic culture, complete with market economy, must emerge in Yugoslavia before the ideals of the '60s are realistic. Then, perhaps, in a few generations time, socialism can become possible.

Rebel astray: On the other side of the fence in Serbian politics, the Praxis oppositionists recognize some familiar and unexpected faces. The Praxis school's pre-eminent philosopher, Mihailo Markovic, is vice president of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party (SSP). To the shock of many of his former colleagues, last year Markovic signed on with the reformed version of the Praxis philosophy's arch-nemesis, the orthodox League of Communists. Under its strong-arm leader, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, the league has transformed itself into an autocratic nationalist party.

Yet, Markovic claims that the SSP stands firmly in the tradition of the same socialist

humanism that he has advocated since his days as a partisan army officer. While extreme nationalism rages in Croatia and other republics, he argues, Serbia has evolved into a modern social democracy, comparable to those in northern Europe.

He feels that some of the Praxis people have simply clung to their identity as oppositionists and changed their ideas to maintain this role. "I was a dissident for all those years because there was no socialist party in Yugoslavia," explains the gray-haired Marxist in his book-lined study. "When a new party emerged that wanted to adopt our ideas, I felt that I could no longer simply sit on the sidelines."

The esteemed figure of Markovic in its ranks has been a giant boost for the SSP. His photo is regularly plastered on the front page of the SSP mouthpiece *Politika* and, like a good functionary, the former critic has loyally toed the party line. In racist polemics against the ethnic Albanian population in Serbia's southern Kosovo province, he legitimized the government's gross violation of human rights. When student protesters took to the streets in March, Markovic stood by the regime's hardliners. He recently justified Serbia's refusal to accept European Community peace initiatives.

Markovic sees Serbian nationalism as a

Philosophers of the Praxis school argued that Marxist theory was neither an end in itself nor an ideological cloak for the ruling elite—it was a means to transform society.

justifiable and temperate product of the injustices that Serbia has suffered over the years. The professor compares Milosevic with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov as "a modern politician, a young and intelligent leader."

That Serbia's belligerent policies have increasingly isolated it within Europe doesn't faze Markovic. He buys the regime's paranoia that a "fourth reich" is uniting against Serbia. "One gets suspicious when one sees that it's Germany, Austria and Hungary that want to recognize Croatian independence," says Markovic, an *In These Times* subscriber for years. "It's the old direction of German penetration into the southeast, the drive for access to the Adriatic."

Markovic's apologetics have some of his colleagues indignant, others feeling vindicated. "Yes, philosophers in power..." sighs Zivotic, who naturally locates the root of his old friend's politics in his philosophical assumptions. Markovic, he says, had always embraced a rigid kind of systematic Marxism. "You can plug in any variable such as

nation or class into such a theoretical framework, but it won't change the way of thinking. It's a closed system and the result is self-evident," explains Zivotic.

Nationalism and its discontents: One of the Belgrade Eight along with Zivotic and Markovic, social anthropologist Zagorka Golubovic sees Serbia's intellectuals in a deep identity crisis. She explains that a kind of apathy prevails today among once-critical intellectuals. "Now that socialism is out of fashion, many of the former dissidents find it difficult to re-adjust to the situation," she says.

In 1986, Golubovic herself was one of 200 Belgrade intellectuals who signed a petition protesting the failure of the Yugoslav government to stop the oppression of the Serb minority in the province of Kosovo. When Milosevic came to power one year later, it was under the pretext of that issue that he ignited Serb nationalism.

Yet, Golubovic, a long-time human rights proponent, is as staunch a critic as any of the nationalist fervor that has engulfed Yugoslavia. An independent intellectual, she claims that the critical methodology of the Praxis days remains valid today. The ideology of nationalism, for example, has telling parallels to that of orthodox communism. "Both emphasize the supra-collectivity above the individual," says the anthropologist in her sparse university office. "In communism, it is the party and state that know all and to which one must pay homage. In nationalism, it is the nation."

Golubovic insists that nationalism didn't come from below. She argues that the people weren't nationalists, but that they became nationalists thanks to the official ideology of the state. In order to regain legitimacy, the state manipulated the ideology of nationalism because no one bought the ideology of communism any longer. The ruling elite tried to find something new, she says, and "so naturally they produced something that was very close to their own ideology."

The ideology of nationalism, according to Golubovic, is the ideology of fatalism, the opposite of Marxism. "What I appreciate most about Marx is that he liberated the human agent from fatalism. He rejected the notion that one necessarily depends upon a natural or supernatural being outside of oneself." She argues that the nation posits itself as a supernatural entity, which negates human freedom and individualism. "You are nobody except as a member of that nation. It's an ideology that pacifies people and makes them helpless unless they are part of the nation."

Neither Golubovic nor the majority of her counterparts see a quick resolution to the crisis at hand. Still, they surmise that the role of critical theory and democratic socialism may have its day again in Yugoslavia.

In Slovenia, she notes, workers recently protested new legislation that completely dismantled their right to govern themselves. "Now, they didn't actually use the word 'self-government,' but they referred to the right of workers to speak about the problems concerning their working conditions," she says, looking out her soot-streaked window to the busy street below. "So, once democracy develops, I'm quite sure that the question of democratic and humanistic socialism will once again find its way onto the political agenda."

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 25/OCT. 1, 1991, 11

By Sheldon Sunness

BATON ROUGE, LA.

IF YOU THINK YOU KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT politics," a savvy U.S. senator from Texas told his colleagues in the mid-'30s, "go down to Louisiana and take a post-graduate course."

More than half a century later, little has changed. Like its cuisine, Louisiana still takes its politics spicy, dicey and more than a little fishy.

Even in a normal year, politics in the Pelican State resemble politics elsewhere in the U.S. about as closely as the seventh game in the World Series corresponds to a game of sandlot softball. But this year, Louisiana has somehow managed to outdo itself.

The candidates running for governor in the mid-October primary complete the kind of card even Don King would never dream of promoting. They range from a Bayou Hamlet disguised as the incumbent, to a fallen populist hero, to a famous former head of the Ku Klux Klan.

But this campaign is more than a display of colorful local characters. This year's governor's race provides a sobering glimpse into the future of American politics. Lurking ominously close to the surface here are issues that haunt many American states. Deteriorating race relations, a precarious economy, the emergence of right-wing populism and a painful debate over abortion have complicated the political equation in an already complex state.

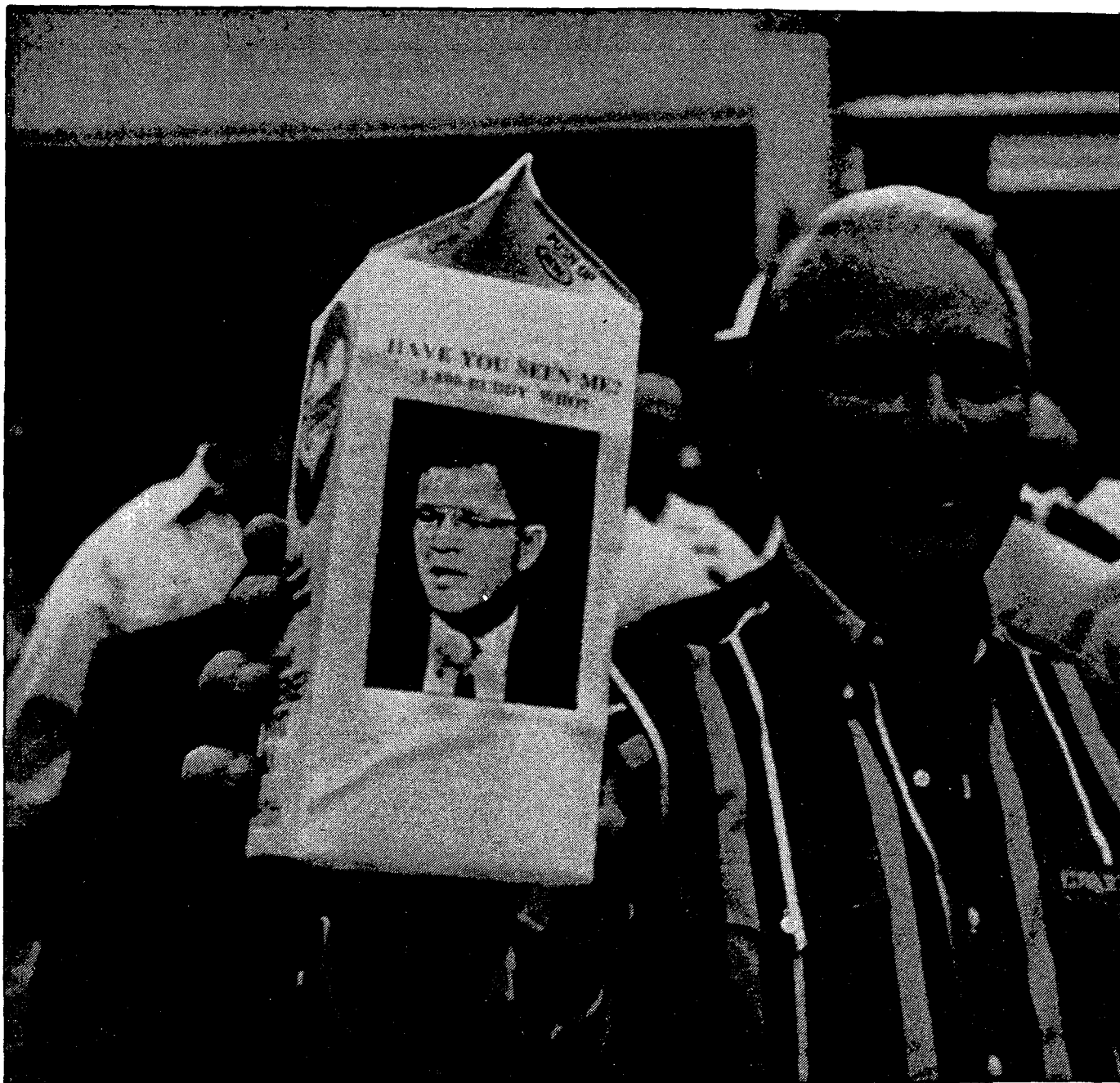
With its heavy French and Latin influences still very apparent, Louisiana remains our most exotic state. It also remains one of our most divided states. Split down the middle by race and religion—with the Baptist north balancing the Catholic south—it has been termed "our Lebanon."

In recent years, however Louisiana has seemed more like the real Lebanon. Although blessed with enormous natural resources, especially oil and sulphur, in the mid-'80s it had the country's highest unemployment rate. It was also plagued with the worst education system, the lowest life-expectancy rate, the lowest literacy rate and the highest infant-mortality rate in the nation. Louisiana was a state in crisis.

The Roemer revolution? Into the breach leaped Buddy Roemer, a Democratic congressman from Shreveport who won the state governor's race in 1987. Roemer, a Boll Weevil who supported Reaganomics as staunchly as any Democrat, promised a "revolution" that would revitalize Louisiana industry and clean up state government. He arrived in Baton Rouge with a reputation for technocratic certainty and personal smugness—House Speaker Tip O'Neill once described Roemer as "often wrong, never in doubt." Once in office, Roemer disdained dealing with the Legislature and snubbed key constituencies. It cost him.

True, he has run an honest administration—no small feat in Louisiana. He's also made significant strides in environmental protection—strengthening the Department of Environmental Quality and punishing corporate polluters. But Roemer has come up short. He's been hard on labor—cutting unemployment compensation and disability benefits—while gutting the state's prevailing wage law. His abrasive style has led to a number of initiatives being paralyzed by the Legislature.

But Roemer's greatest failure came during his attempt to overhaul the state's hopelessly mangled tax code. Roemer entered office with public sentiment strongly



If former Gov. Edwin Edwards makes a strong showing in the Oct. 18 primary, current Gov. Buddy Roemer could turn up missin

The pride and prejudice of Louisia

favoring tax reform, but he waited 18 months before acting. He then backed a bill identified with corporate Louisiana and foolishly squandered his prestige trying to push the plan on a reluctant public. State voters rejected the tax package in 1989, handing Roemer a stinging defeat.

And then Buddy broke down.

It was a full-blown mid-life crisis actually, brought on when his wife walked out of the governor's mansion. Soon Buddy began spouting the pop pabulum of author Robert Fulghum. He even hired his own personal-growth guru, Danny Walker, who advised him to wear rubber bands on his wrists, snapping them to ward off hostile thoughts.

Now, world-weary Louisianans known breakdowns. They remember Gov. Earl Long's famous collapse in 1959. But Uncle Earl acted with style—consorting with strippers, leading the press on wild tours of the Southwest's finest racetracks. He also acted with significance: his last speech to the Legislature, a heroic effort to head off an ugly segregationist uprising, found Earl thundering that "niggers is human beings like us."

By comparison, the Buddy breakdown has been pure Perrier. He serenades the Legislature with a "Goodbye to me, hello to we" speech. (If only Marx had thought of that!) He talks of "honoring" friend and foe, even has the word mounted on a placard in his office.

But what began as a series of recycled *thirtysomething* scripts has rapidly degenerated into something choreographed by Mel

Brooks. In early May, Roemer, a determined promoter of foreign investment, arrived late to a key meeting with the Japanese consular general. The governor, clad in blue jeans, offered a perfunctory apology and conducted the meeting with his feet on the desk.

Roemer's switch last spring to the Republican Party—in a state where Democrats still substantially outnumber Republicans—was surprising not for its expediency but for its poor timing. His defection came well before October's open primary—a contest that pits him against candidates from both parties. Then Roemer, the critic of political gut-fighting, attempted—with the backing of the Republican National Committee (RNC)—to steamroller the state Republican Party into endorsing him for governor. Outraged state party regulars decided to back a rival candidate.

Finally, instead of selecting a local boy to run his campaign, Roemer turned to the RNC's Sam Dawson, a third-rate thug out of the Lee Atwater school of politics, responsible for red-baiting in Florida and Jew-baiting in South Carolina.

Late last spring, Roemer looked like a shoo-in for re-election. But now he's running neck-and-neck with former Gov. Edwin Edwards, while State Rep. David Duke lurks ominously behind.

Striving for excess: Edwin Edwards, a three-term governor with a political record longer than Ronald Reagan's and a rap sheet longer than John Gotti's, has been the dominant figure in Louisiana politics for the last

20 years.

Handsome and charismatic, Edwards was the first Louisiana politician to master modern media politics. A Nazarene preacher in his teens, Edwards perfected his pitch at an early age. In 1971, those talents helped the 44-year-old Cajun congressman to wiggle through a stultifying field of 17 candidates to win his first governor's race.

Times were good then—the state was floating on another oil boom—and Edwards helped make them better. "Laissez les bons temps rouler!" he proclaimed. "Let the good times roll!" And they did.

Edwards forged a new state constitution and opened up the government to minorities and women. Early in his administration, he expanded social programs, financing them with a series of new taxes on Louisiana big business. Along the way, Edwards managed to revive the populist coalition established by the legendary Huey Long.

Populism played well in Long's Louisiana, a state where a sliver of wealthy and large numbers of poor bracketed a stunted middle class. Although Louisiana has long been receptive to populist politics, the state's elite—planters through the last century, oil and gas companies more recently—kept a tight lid on even the most basic reforms until the '20s.

But finally, in 1928, the lid blew sky high when Long was elected governor. Long ushered in a populist heyday, building roads, erecting hospitals and schools and meting out a measure of economic justice to the



James W. Terry III

na politics

state's poor.

In the '70s, Edwards revived and updated the Long coalition, drawing heavily on a constituency of labor, blacks and Cajuns. His political achievements excused personal excesses that were outrageous even by Louisiana standards. Edwards' high-rolling junkets to Las Vegas and his endless sexual dalliances—real and imagined—cemented

his image as a colorful, larger-than-life character. During his re-election campaign, he boasted, "The only way I'm gonna lose this election is if I get caught in bed with a live boy or a dead girl."

Edwards also survived repeated allegations of financial impropriety. He parried the charges with clever and witty, if not entirely convincing defenses. Accused of selling state offices, Edwards beat the rap by pointing out that the statute applied to a sitting governor, not a governor-elect—which is what he was when the deal went down.

Why did people put up with Edwards' antics? Sure, times were good. What also helped was that they took place, as locals never tire of explaining, in the land of Lafitte the pirate, where a Latin-like tolerance for human frailty still exists. "Robó pero hisó," as the saying has it. "He stole, but he did."

And don't forget Edwards' disarming candor. Not that he invented the art—this is, after all, the home of Sheriff Cat Doucett, who, when criticized by the press for tolerating whorehouses in his parish, simply snapped, "What's wrong with a little pussy?" But Edwin Edwards took candor to new lengths. Chastized as "the Silver Zipper" for his sexual exploits, he not only accepted the nickname, his campaign took to handing out silver zippers. When confronted on *Sixty Minutes* with allegations that he sold a seat on the State Mineral Board for \$75,000, he complained, "It was \$45,000. [My aide] skimmed the other \$30,000."

Only Louisiana's two-term limit could stop Edwards in the '70s. So he sat out a race and returned in 1983, storming to office with 62 percent of the vote. Startlingly, his own pre-election poll showed that one-third of his supporters didn't fully trust him.

But much had changed since Edwards' last term in office. The global oil glut had devastated the state economy and the state government—dependent on oil and gas company taxes for 40 percent of its revenues—was feeling the pinch. Business interests, caught off guard by Edwards' tax initiative in the '70s, were now much better organized. For the first time, this swampland Solomon had no answers: services were cut, taxes were raised.

The only constant during Edwards' two tenures in office were the scandals surrounding him. As governor, he was tried twice for violating Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statutes during his interregnum. Al-

though acquitted, the trials left a bad taste. The magic had worn off. In his re-election primary, Edwards hobbled home second behind Roemer, snapping a streak of 15 consecutive election victories. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, he conceded the runoff to Roemer.

But now Edwards is back, touting himself as "the solution to the [Roemer] revolution." He promises a "populist campaign," but is noticeably short on specifics. When he identifies the task of populism as "bringing into the scope of things those newly enfranchised people who are looking not for equal rights but for equal opportunities," it sounds suspiciously like a dated social welfare bromide.

There's also the question of character. Edwards vows "to be very careful about not falling into some of the traps I fell into before." But does this mean he'll be more honest—or just more careful? He offers few apologies for any, let's say, unseemly behavior. "Unseemly in who's eyes? ... Going to church is unseemly in the eyes of an atheist. ... When I ride horses, that's unseemly in the eyes of many animal rights activists."

Edwards can point proudly to a poll that finds him the best state governor over the last 20 years. But he must also stare down negative ratings consistently topping 50 percent. His problem has been low appeal among white voters, where he rarely scores above 20 percent.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of Edwards' decline has been the damage done to Louisiana populism. By tying populism to Edwards and Edwards to corruption, "big business has made populism into a dirty word," says Zack Nauth of the Louisiana Coalition for Tax Justice. "Now we have to use words like 'progressive,' 'fairness' and 'justice' instead."

About face: In Louisiana, populism has acquired a surprising new face—the surgically reconstructed face of its most famous state legislator, David Duke. "I expect to take 30-35 percent of the primary vote," Duke confidently predicts. Despite polls showing just a fraction of those numbers, Duke says, "You can add 20 percent to anything the polls show."

Normally, such claims could be dismissed as so much campaign rhetoric. But these claims come from the former head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—a man whose support has been woefully underestimated in previous campaigns.

"David Duke is definitely higher than the polls show," says Susan Howell, a political scientist and polltaker at the University of New Orleans. "And he's just getting started."

How can the numbers lie so badly? As Howell notes, in five recent votes where black candidates or issues were involved—David Dinkins' campaign for mayor in New York, Douglas Wilder's run for governor in Virginia and the Martin Luther King Day referendum in Arizona—guilty whites have been reluctant to express opposition in pre-election polls.

It was much easier to deal with the David Duke of the '70s and '80s—the marginalized Klan leader (until 1980) and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People. It was easier then to dismiss Duke's strident anti-black and anti-Semitic blasts, his celebration of Hitler's birthday (until the mid-'80s), even his periodic call for a genetically-enhanced master race.

But then, almost overnight, David Duke made a major political crossover. Duke replaced his openly racist diatribes with stinging attacks on "the rising welfare class." With

jabs at affirmative action and minority set-asides, Duke attempted to place himself within the conservative mainstream.

It worked. In 1989, Duke joined the Republican Party and stunned the state by winning a vacant seat in the Legislature from the conservative New Orleans suburb of Metairie. Last year, he rocked the nation by winning 44 percent of the vote in his run for the U.S. Senate. He obliterated the Republican nominee, who was forced to withdraw, and jolted entrenched incumbent Bennett Johnston, sweeping 60 percent of the white vote.

From a distance, David Duke's transformation might appear merely cosmetic, like the nose job, cheek implants and facial chemical peels he's undergone to enhance his looks. Certainly, much of Duke's old message remains in coded form. But much is different, too. His new message is broader and contains a considerably wider appeal.

When David Duke rails against "feeding the massive bureaucracy"; when he decries the fact that his state's citizens pay "the highest tax rate in the South, higher than Massachusetts"; when he takes the lead against the Roemer tax reform plan, blasting "tax breaks for the powerful, the international corporations, the polluters," he's stepping well beyond simple race politics.

When he calls for political reform so that "people debate real issues," with elections hinging "not [on] how many dollars you raise but how many votes" you win, Duke is articulating an emerging right-wing populism. He is tapping into the growing frustration of working-class and middle-class voters who have few other conservative spokespeople and no equivalent outlet on the left.

A survey conducted for Bennett Johnston in the wake of his Senate scare last year concluded as much. "Voter resentments about affirmative action are part of a much larger group of resentments," the study noted. "It is not so much the perception that blacks have power that makes this aggravating to whites as the sense that the white middle-class is completely lacking in power and influence." A Baton Rouge *Morning Advocate* poll earlier this year found that 58 percent of Louisiana citizens agreed with Duke's message, if not the messenger.

Still, for all the smoke, few see the fire. Most politicians and pollsters continue to take Duke lightly. Most agree with Edwards, who insists that "Duke will never again see a 44 percent day in Louisiana." The reasons they offer: there are more candidates this time; he and his past are better known; last year's U.S. Senate race was an ideological protest against Washington, whereas state voting tends to be more pragmatic. Perhaps they're all right. But maybe they're whistling past the graveyard.

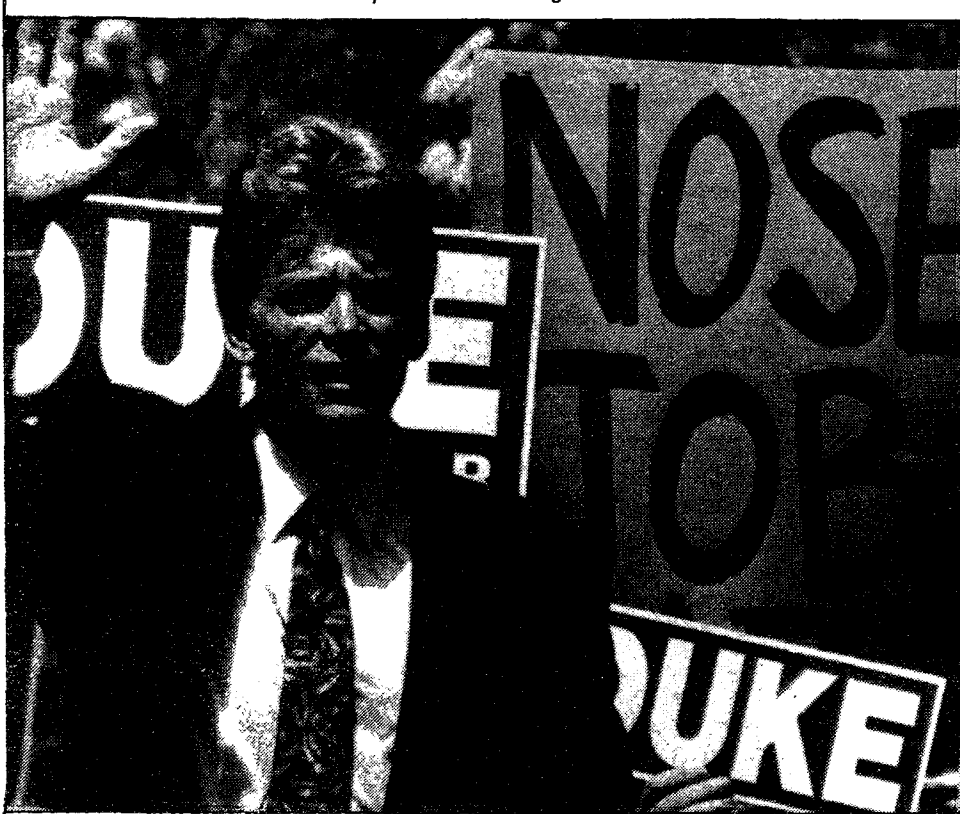
Make me Duke: It's tempting to dismiss Duke's base as a group of rabid racists. But that would be wrong. Certainly simple racism motivates many of his hardcore supporters—the 15 percent of the electorate that's backed him since his two state house races in the '70s. But Duke's support has grown well beyond that narrow base.

In fact, Duke's appeal rests on his recent embrace of a broad-based, right-wing populism—a populism that's much easier to sell than its nearly invisible left-wing alternative. While Duke blasts both Big Government and Big Business, the left relies on government programs to rein in industry and redistribute resources. That's a hard sell in a country

Continued on page 22

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 25-OCT. 1, 1991 13

Former Klan leader David Duke says his recent changes are more than cosmetic.



James W. Terry III

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"



Bush's loan guarantee delay is a small step in the right direction

It is now 24 years since Israel captured the Golan Heights, the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. East Jerusalem was annexed by Israel in 1967, and the Golan Heights, in effect, were annexed in 1981. The other two occupied areas have not yet been annexed, but Israel's ruling Likud Party has tried ever since it came to office in 1977 to take over these Palestinian territories, and thereby to complete its expansionist program.

For its part, the United States government, acting through a series of administrations, has directly or indirectly supported Israeli attacks on the Palestinian people. Successive administrations have adopted the Israeli line that Palestinians are terrorists. And they have shared the official Israeli view of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—which in 1986 was considered to be the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" by 93.5 percent of Arabs living in the Occupied Territories—as an outlaw organization. It took the intifada to force a re-assessment in Washington. That uprising, begun in 1987, made it clear that Palestinians in the territories found their conditions intolerable, and that they were willing to fight the occupying army with their bare hands to achieve independence (see page 16).

The intifada made it inescapably clear that there could be no peace in the Mideast until the Palestinians won a homeland of their own. And the end of the Cold War, along with George Bush's splendid little war, which neutralized Iraq and brought Syria under American influence, created a new situation in the area. Now the administration in Washington no longer needs the Israeli superpower to balance the power of the two former Soviet Arab allies. But it does want stable relations with Saudi Arabia and the other major oil-producing states. And the only thing standing in the way of that goal is the continuing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In short, Israel's war against the Palestinians has become detrimental to administration Mideast policy. Stability has a higher value than continued enhancement of what is already the most powerful state in the region.

This new administration standpoint has brought it to oppose

further Jewish settlement of the Occupied Territories with more than its previous tepid rhetoric. In the past, the United States formally recognized that these settlements were illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention, which bars an occupying power from settling captured lands with its citizens. Nonetheless, the settlements were overlooked and have even been indirectly subsidized (see page 17). Now, the Bush administration has insisted that Israel stop further settlement of the territories if it wants the \$10 billion loan guarantee Yitzhak Shamir has demanded to cover the cost of absorbing the influx of Soviet Jews.

We support the administration position on this matter. We have long opposed settlement of the territories, as well as annexation of any of the occupied land, including East Jerusalem. In our view it is in the best interest of Israelis and Palestinians alike to end their war on the basis of mutual recognition and respect. That means not only Palestinian recognition of Israel, but also Israeli recognition of the Palestinians' right to a state of their own in the Occupied Territories. It also means that just as the Palestinians allow Israel to choose its representatives, so must Israel allow them to choose theirs.

Clearly, Israel is now the main impediment to peace in the Mideast. And yet Israelis have as much to gain from peace as do the Palestinians. Continued insistence on a greater Israel means continued war, and with it a burden of military spending—that even with the annual American subsidy of nearly \$4 billion dollars is bankrupting the nation. Increasingly isolated in world affairs and increasingly dependent on American subsidies at a time when the New World Order has diminished its importance to the U.S. imperium, Israel is on shaky ground.

A genuine accommodation with the Palestinians, on the other hand, would allow Israel to re-orient its society toward peaceful and productive relations with its neighbors. Recognizing Palestinians as equals would help Israel stanch the erosion of its moral capital, in the U.S. and throughout the world. And as the region's most advanced industrial country, Israel could prosper in a mutually beneficial relationship with other Arab states once peace is achieved.

This may sound Panglossian, and it would be if we thought this to be possible with the Likud Party in office. Unfortunately, the prospect for a change of government appears remote. But in this situation there is little reason for continued American subsidies to Israel. The United States has no right to tell the Israelis who they should elect. But it does have a right not to support a government that pursues policies that are detrimental to others. It's time we used our aid to change Israeli policies rather than to reinforce them.

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson (on leave)
 Acting Managing Editor: Miles Harvey
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Assistant Managing Editors: Glenora Croucher, Jim McNeill
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 Contributing Editor: Peter Karman
 Washington Correspondents: John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
 Eastern Europe Correspondent: Paul Hockenos
 Copy Editor: Deirdre Shesgreen
 Editorial Promotions: Gregory L. Walker
 Researcher: George Hodak
 Editorial Intern: Zoe Zolbrod

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Production Assistant/Editorial Cartoonist: Terry LaBan
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
 Co-Business Managers: Louis Hirsch, Finance
 Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing/Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Classified Advertising: Greg Kilbane
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall
 Circulation Director: Janet Geovanis
 Fulfillment Manager: Greg Kilbane
 Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the *Alternative Press Index* and the *Left Index*. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$5; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

This issue (Vol. 15, No. 35) published Sept. 25, 1991, for newsstand sales Sept. 25-Oct. 1, 1991.

LETTERS

The business of sports

IN HIS IMPORTANT LOOK AT THE "OBLIGATIONS" of the black athlete in America (ITT, Sept. 11), Salim Muwakkil quoted Berkeley sociologist Harry Edwards, who made the point that "It's ill-advised, presumptuous and ungenerous for us to expect someone like Michael Jordan, an incredibly gifted basketball player, to work political, economic and spiritual miracles for the black masses." And, as Keith Lee of the Center for the Study of Sports in Society also added, rhetorically, "What makes us even expect athletes to raise our children?"

Indeed. Since Edwards was right, Lee's question is pertinent. Why do we think what we do about athletes?

There is, for example, the Michael Jordan whom Edwards correctly described as "an incredibly gifted basketball player." And then there is the corporate-dominated sports world, with its accompanying ideology. It goes without saying that the one isn't the other. But do they have as much in common as people tend to believe? That is, when we talk about Michael Jordan, are we talking about an individual with great physical talents? Or might we not really be talking about an elaborate ideology that contains among its many aspects a superstar named Michael Jordan?

Michael Jordan is merely an individual black athlete who excels at playing basketball. He may or may not be as nice a guy as his public image suggests. But whether or not he is is beside the point. Michael Jordan, the individual with great physical talents, is one thing. The millions of dollars generated on an annual basis in the name and image of a professional basketball superstar is *sui generis*—another thing. In fact, it's the corporate-dominated sports world—the sponsors, the broadcasting networks, local affiliates, newspapers and magazines, law firms, franchise owners, in short, *capital*—that generates those millions of dollars, and not the "incredibly gifted basketball player" named Michael Jordan.

In the U.S., sports and everything associated with them are first a means of commerce; and second, they are an ideology that pretends that what sports really are—a societal locus where money joins with money to breed more money—they aren't. Here we need to be as cynical as the sports world demands us to be. Let's admit no illusions into what we need to say about the sports world. The only reason a person would ever wonder why a basketball superstar named Michael Jordan hasn't taken a substantive interest in the fate of black Americans or in the related questions of class and race is that this person is already in the grip of the sports ideology that turns "an incredibly gifted basketball player" into something other than he is—into a superstar worth what you pay to watch him play basketball, or into an image that makes you want to wear shoes like he wears or to eat the same breakfast cereal he eats; and so on.

To expect Michael Jordan, the image out of which the corporate-dominated sports world generates millions of dollars annually, to address the "conditions of African-Americans" and the class and racial problems of American society is thus to expect the corporate-dominated sports world (or American society, more generally) to undermine itself. Fat chance. I mean, think of all the

poor lawyers, sports writers and broadcasters who'd be put out of work! And the newspapers, radio and television shows that might have to try covering something humanly meaningful.

David Peterson
Evergreen Park, Ill.



Somebody's being snookered!

PLEASE CANCEL MY SUBSCRIPTION TO *IN THESE TIMES* immediately and return the unused portion of my subscription moneys.

I shall miss Alexander Cockburn and the others (*not* John Judas, misspelling intentional), but I cannot subscribe to an alleged movement publication that speaks of the capitalist marketization of the Grand Experiment that was the Soviet Union as "democracy," as a victory of the "Soviet people."

I spent a month in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Budapest and Prague in late 1988. We were encouraged to go anywhere, see anything, talk to people. I saw no homeless people, no starving people. All ideology and intellectualization and sophistry aside, the Soviets were quietly sharing the goodies in a manner conspicuously and cruelly absent from our own country. Oh yes, Americans have "things," lots of them, and an expensive advertising machine and an unsolvable trash problem.

Surely you know that Bush-style "democracy" means American-style unemployment, racism, oppression and, most of all, foreign exploitation.

When *In These Times* begins to look like and sound like and smell like the capitalist press, it's time to keep it out of my house.

Thank you.

Dorothy Argyros
Neptune, N.J.

Romania

I AM A SUBSCRIBER TO *IN THESE TIMES* AND HAVE enjoyed reading the courageous pieces you publish. I am disturbed about the tenor of Paul Hockenos' articles about Romania.

I am of Romanian descent. I have been to Romania five times since the December 1989 revolution and about 42 times prior to that on legal business.

In all the Hockenos articles, the fact that demonstrations (riots) have been directed against a government duly elected by a vast majority of the populace, an election confirmed by official international bodies as having been free and fair, seems to be of no importance. At the time of the June riots, the newly elected government had not even taken office. There was a power vacuum in which no one exercised authority over the

army and police to quell or control the rioters. It was common knowledge that the police and army were extremely timid about moving against the people because of what had happened during the recent revolution. Thus, there was no law and order.

Knowing this, the culprits seized a propitious moment to attempt a coup d'état. Hockenos would have his readers believe that the present Romanian government came to power by force and violence rather than by electoral mandate, and that the riots were necessary to remove new dictators. Hockenos should remind himself that if such demonstrations had taken place in the U.S., that is, where a group of people sought to overthrow our duly elected government by force and violence, the perpetrators would have ended up in jail for many years. This did not happen in the case of the Romanian rioters in February or June of 1990.

I have been provoked to remonstrate against the propaganda concocted by Romanian fascists and their allies and reiterated by Hockenos. He views the statement allegedly made by the government spokesmen that the Jiu Valley miners came to Bucharest in June 1990 to prevent a fascist coup d'état as a sham. Let me tell you that that is exactly how I characterized the event, that is, that it was a planned coup d'état, immediately after I had read the newspaper accounts and heard the television reports at the time. And let me tell you why. For many years after World War II, I fought the fascist (Iron Guard) elements recently arrived in our Romanian-American community. The so-called refugees and their sympathizers had been received, recognized and accepted as great American patriots by our government because of their anti-communist propaganda and activities in the Romanian-American community. Thus they ingratiated themselves to the power structure in this country, thereby enabling themselves to pursue their nefarious activities with impunity.

In 1950, the Romanian fascists induced a group of Romanian-American Orthodox Christians to break away from their mother church and form an independent church group, for which they selected a refugee

Iron Guardist as their bishop. I have witnessed the riotous takeover of the Romanian Orthodox Church properties in the U.S. by this fascist group, upon which action, tragically, the courts placed their imprimatur. I would not have believed such lawless action to be possible in the U.S. had I not been present at the time of these events. This is all fully documented in court records and in other credible papers.

The same pattern, with similar strategies, is now being used in Romania by these same elements. To be sure, it is only a small group that plans and incites the larger body to action, skillfully exploiting the unrest and unsettled situation and carefully manipulating the naiveté of others. At the same time, it is carefully arranged that the Western media be on hand at the appropriate time to spotlight every incident and to twist it out of proportion.

John R. Vintilla
Cleveland, Ohio

Paul Hockenos responds: The charge that demonstrations of June 13, 1990, amounted to an attempted fascist coup is so absurd that it hardly deserves a response. Crying fascist coup to justify a strong-arm crackdown is a tactic out of the oldest pages of textbook Stalinism. And I'm afraid that Mr. Vintilla is going to have to provide stronger evidence than his experience with the Orthodox Church in the U.S. (which I don't doubt for a minute) to convince me otherwise.

If, indeed, those were fascist bands that attacked the radio and television station, then why were none arrested? Certainly it wasn't those long-haired teenagers with the guitars on University Square that did it. Nor was student leader Marion Munteanu in charge, although the miners beat him nearly to death. The democratic opposition had their headquarters completely ransacked, yet one can hardly label them fascists. Perhaps it was those 15 Gypsies that the government paraded across the television screen... Even the Jiu Valley miners admit today that they were hoodwinked.

It's ever more clear that the events of June 13-15 were deliberately provoked by the government or elements within the power structure. There are plenty of fascists in Romania. But they don't feel that they need a putsch to bring them to power. They're going to use the ballot boxes—and in a coalition with the government party.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



By Staughton & Alice Lynd

DURING JULY AND AUGUST, WE TOOK A trip to Israel and the Occupied Territories to make our own assessment of conditions there. We visited Ramallah, East Jerusalem, villages in the Jordan Valley, Bethlehem, Nablus, Jenin, the Jabaliyah and Rafah refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and two towns within Israel proper, Nazareth and Lod.

In these places we spoke with a wide range of people: trade unionists, feminists, families whose homes had been demolished, the parents of teenage boys who had been killed, prisoners, students seeking degrees from now-closed universities, refugees, counselors for the disabled and Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries. For two weeks, we spent every night in the home of a Palestinian family.

Costs of the intifada: Almost four years of intifada have taken a heavy toll on the Palestinians. Some 1,000 have been killed and about 100,000 have been injured, of which 30,000 are said by the YMCA in Bethlehem to be disabled. Yet the cost in dead, disabled and detained is only the most visible cost of the intifada. The prospect of detention without charges or trial for periods of six months or more is now the norm for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, as is the possibility of often brutal interrogation. Homes of suspected participants in the intifada are frequently razed. In Jeftlik, a community of 2,000 in

Coming to understand the Palestinian struggle

the Jordan Valley, we were told that about 20 homes have been destroyed each year. When we were there, 22 youths were under arrest.

Normal economic life has also become close to impossible. Before the Gulf War, more than 100,000 Palestinians journeyed daily into Israel for work. Confined to their homes for weeks during the war, many lost their jobs to newly-arrived Soviet Jews willing to do the low-wage, dirty, traditionally Arab work. Now, fewer than 50,000 of these Palestinians are still employed in Israel, and those who were displaced are said to have voluntarily quit, thereby making them ineligible for severance pay.

Inside the Territories, Palestinians are taxed at a higher rate than Israelis but receive less service in areas like health care and education. We were told about three intifada-related deaths where the injured might have survived but for lengthy trips to poorly-equipped hospitals. Major Palestinian universities like Birzeit and Gaza remain closed, while students struggle to graduate from universities without walls and are then denied teaching jobs in the public schools because they do not hold degrees from accredited universities.

Not a home can be built, a tree planted or a well dug in the territories without permission from the occupation authorities, and permission is rarely granted. Farmers cannot export their produce, or can do so only after delays that cause it to spoil. In rural areas, the 24-hour curfew during the Gulf War caused some losses of the entire year's harvests.

A new approach: These conditions have led West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinians to de-emphasize direct confrontation of the occupiers and to concentrate instead on

Israel obviously believes that it is winning the struggle for Palestine de facto, "on the ground," no matter what goes on at international conferences.

the building of independent institutions.

One such alternative institution is Birzeit University, which presently serves 1,700-1,800 students, for whom graduation may take twice as many years as in normal times. Classes now meet in former dormitories or similar structures. Faculty salaries, according to the chairperson of the staff union, are about one-sixth what a professor would receive in Europe. Another is the Union of Popular Centers for Health Services, which has established a pharmacy serving 85 clinics in the West Bank and Gaza. A third is the General Union of Palestinian Women, which says it has established 49 kindergartens and nine nurseries.

Modest as these ventures necessarily are, a spokesperson for one village in the Jordan Valley explained to us their practical impact. It used to be, he said, that to go to the clinic in Nablus one had to pay 20 shekels in transportation, 20 shekels for a doctor and 30-40 shekels for medicine. (A shekel is equivalent to a little less than 50 cents.) Now the same service is available for 3 shekels at the village clinic.

Alternative authority is also exercised through the monthly communiqués of the Unified National Leadership. For example, all stores now close at 1:00 p.m., and on designated days do not open at all. These "strikes" deprive Palestinians, but they also give them some control. A prisoner described to us how he took only seven minutes of exercise when he was offered 10, and he would always leave some food on his plate no matter how hungry he was. In this way, he said, he maintained a posture of making his own decisions.

The alternative authority that Palestinians are creating lacks its own enforcement powers. For example, a pharmacist explained that the drugs he distributes to clinics contain elaborate warnings about side effects. There being no governmental agency to regulate such matters, he said, the workers

themselves ensure that appropriate warnings are available. A less happy aspect of dual power is the improvised justice system for collaborators. A former prisoner told us at great length about the way in which prisoners slowly and carefully determined whether a fellow prisoner was a collaborator, reaching conclusions only on the basis of more than one incident and if supported by corroborating evidence.

This spirit of Palestinian dual power was dramatically brought home to us at the Rafah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. After dark, masked youths spray-painted graffiti on the walls of homes in the camp. For this act of defiance, Israeli soldiers are authorized to shoot on sight. But when the painting was completed, residents erased it before dispersing. Why, we asked? Because, we were told, soldiers who find such graffiti make families get up in the middle of the night to clean the walls. "Every one has read the messages," it was explained to us. "So now it's better to erase them and get a night's sleep."

Day by day, Israeli confiscation of land and water continues. Several knowledgeable persons and organizations told us that Israeli settlers now own more than 60 percent of the land on the West Bank. The diversion of water is, if anything, more extreme. Driving north through the Jordan Valley, one passes field after field of well-irrigated Israeli date trees, only to come to dusty Arab villages where lack of water causes farmers to sell their livestock, go to work as wage laborers and, finally, to leave. One such farmer said that Israeli diversion of water caused what remained to become salty, so that only low-value crops like eggplants and tomatoes could be grown. Many sources concurred that Israeli settlers in the Occupied Territories pay only a fourth or a fifth as much for a cubic meter of water as must be paid by their Palestinian counterparts.

Whereas Arab villages are typically built into the sides of hills, Jewish settlements are sited on the hilltops. The home where we stayed near Ramallah looks out on a mountain where the family used to own land. Now there is a settlement on top of the mountain, the family land having been taken without compensation. Similarly, for miles around Jerusalem in what is euphemistically known as the "Jerusalem business district," the apartment houses of new settlements have sprouted along the ridges.

The hilltop settlements reinforce the overall sense in occupied Palestine that Israeli soldiers are looking down on you. Every major market place—in Ramallah, in Jericho, in Bethlehem across from the Church of the Nativity—has a military post on a nearby rooftop overlooking the crowd below. As a pedestrian one frequently looks up at passing Israeli vehicles from the open rear of which soldiers with automatic rifles gaze.

Losing the ground war: Israel obviously believes that it is winning the struggle for Palestine de facto, "on the ground," whatever may go on at international conferences. Correspondingly, every Palestinian whom we asked about the Baker-sponsored peace process dismissed it as "bullshit" or "morphine." They see nothing in it for Palestinians.

Continued on following page

THE DR. SCIENCE "SMUG MUG"

This bright yellow mug is just the advantage that you'll need to wrestle the 90's to the ground! On one side, our adorable series mascot; the other side proudly proclaims: "I KNOW MORE THAN YOU DO!" in big, bold letters. A must for any desk! Set of two: \$17.95 ppd



I KNOW MORE THAN YOU DO!



THE DUCK'S BREATH MULTI-MEDIA KIT

Prepare yourself for sensory overload! Includes: the SPACEDUCK teeshirt (White on Bright Red, S/M/L/XL); the mile-a-minute comic novel IAN SHOALES' PERFECT WORLD (...the most fun of its kind since The Hitchhiker's Guide To The Galaxy... Booklist); our newest 90-min. comedy cassette, SENSELESS CRUELTY; and a DUCK'S BREATH bumpersticker. WOW, all at a savings of 30%! Only \$21.95 ppd



ZADARI COW FROM HELL!

Featuring our very own slightly befuddled and highly radioactive cow from hell. 100% Cotton Teeshirt. S/M/L/XL \$12.95 ppd



HOMEMADE RADIO

"The funniest 90 seconds on radio!" - L. A. Times Cass. 43 min. \$8.95 ppd

IAN SHOALES' PERFECT WORLD

A day in the fantasy life of America's super-cynical "Seer of Sneer" Chicago Sun Times. 203pp \$9.95 ppd

ORDER DIRECTLY FROM PUBLIC RADIO'S LEADING FUNNY GUYS!

Please send Check, Money Order, or Credit Card info to: DUCK'S BREATH Dept. INT P.O. BOX 22513 SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94122 or charge by phone: (415) 621-2725 M-F / 9am-6pm pacific time All prices Postpaid. VISA / MC / DINERS accepted.

Name _____ Phone () _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Credit Card # _____ Exp _____
Signature _____

Israeli loan justice

The following Viewpoint is an open letter to Congress written by a group of Israeli citizens.

OUT OF OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE FATE of our country, we—a group of Jewish Israeli citizens—feel the time has come to address you.

Since its founding, our country has been at war with its neighbors. In its isolated position and burdened with huge military expenses, it has always been in need of foreign aid, which in the last two decades has been generously provided by the U.S. In fact, due to your willingness to provide that aid to our country, Israel has become the largest recipient per capita of U.S. aid.

By virtue of this policy toward Israel, the U.S. has assumed a considerable responsibility. It is with American money that the government of Israel can pursue its policies, which, regrettably, include the policy of gradually annexing the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Such annexation is effected by setting up new settlements and creating an expanding Jewish presence in those territories. With the help of American money, the government is able to offer Jewish settlers, native-born or newly arrived Israeli Jews, extremely generous subsidies, amounting practically to free housing, as well as other

benefits. At the same time, inside Israel proper, the shortage of affordable houses for young couples and new immigrants has reached alarming proportions. Such a policy inevitably entails gross violation of the human rights of the indigenous Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories, whose land is expropriated so that new Jewish settlements may be established. Indeed, this policy of de facto annexation of the Occupied Territories lies at the root of Israel's disregard for universal declarations of human rights insofar as these territories are concerned.

All this is done openly, with the knowledge of the entire Israeli population. The U.S. cannot shrug off a degree of responsibility for the way its money is used. Against the wishes of at least half of Israel's own citizens, the government maintains a policy that is detrimental to the chances for peace in our region. It can afford to do so only thanks to the continued flow of unconditional American aid. Indeed, peace initiatives—such as the one presently undertaken by Secretary of State James Baker—stand no chance of success as long as the Shamir government persists in its unrealistic and irresponsible "Greater Israel" policy. This policy is directly responsible now for the daily hardships caused by a violent conflict that is being unnecessarily perpetuated at a time when—at long last—there seems to exist a real chance to bring it to an end and start a process aimed at achieving peace.

Needless to add that with the elimination of the chances for peace, the danger of another war becomes imminent.

As you know, an Israeli request will be brought before you in September of this year for \$10 billion in loan guarantees for the purpose of absorbing the Soviet and Ethiopian Jewish immigrants in Israel. Those immigrants are, indeed, in great and urgent need of help. They were brought to Israel by the government and the Jewish Agency, which exerted all their influence to prevent the Soviet Jewish emigrants from going to any other country. But while directing them toward Israel, no adequate measures were taken to ensure their proper reception, and many of them are facing exposure to hardship and poverty. Supporting these immigrants is a worthy humanitarian cause; they certainly deserve a decent life in their new homeland. But this cannot be achieved in a country torn by conflict, where the daily life of everybody is becoming increasingly insecure.

On you, members of the U.S. Congress, rests a tremendous responsibility. It is within your power to make sure that your willingness, of which we have no doubt, to extend humanitarian aid to these immigrants not be turned against the principle of "Land for Peace," which is the cornerstone of the administration's peace initiative, and with which we are in full agreement. The loan guarantees requested by Israel should therefore be made conditional upon the Israeli gov-

ernment's acceptance of that principle. Such acceptance should be manifested by an immediate cessation of all settlement activities, namely, setting up new settlements or expanding existing ones within the Occupied Territories. Unless this condition is met by the Israeli government, you could never be sure that part of the money given for the absorption of immigrants would not in fact be used to accelerate the de facto annexation of territories subject to negotiations.

We, like many other Israeli's who deep in their hearts share our view, would regard the adoption of such a measure on your part as the greatest service the U.S. could render Israel at the present moment.

Mattityahu Peled, Maj. Gen. (Ret.),
Professor of Arabic Literature
Yossi Amitay, Orientalist
Shimon Bellas, Author and Professor
of Literature
Hayim Bar-Am, Journalist
Benjamin Beit Hallahmi, Author, Member
of Editorial Board of *New Outlook*
Avishai Ehrlich, Professor of Sociology
David Hammou, Editor, Iton Aher (Another
Newspaper)
Adam Keller, Editor, The Other Israel
Peter Lemish, Professor of Political
Education
Yael Lottan, Author and Literary Critic
Uri Maor, Professor of Physics
Ruhama Marton, M.D.
Yehuda Melzer, Professor of Philosophy
and Publisher
Gideon Spiro, Peace Activist
Sasha Wietman, Professor of Sociology

Continued from preceding page

Professor Riyad Malki of Birzeit University states that the "autonomy" talked about by Israel and the U.S. is not independence. It might transfer to Palestinians the administration of schools and health clinics, but it would not permit them to decide about the use of land and water. The Palestinians with whom Baker has been talking, according to Malki, are only the most recent in a series of Palestinian spokespersons whom the U.S. has sought to legitimize as an alternative leadership to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Conceding the trenchancy of Malki's critique of the Baker peace process, what is his own strategy for success? When the very land, water and trees of Palestine are rapidly passing into Israeli hands (one source said that Israeli landholding in the West Bank is now increasing at the rate of 2 percent *per month*), what hope can any Palestinian strategy entertain? Isn't Palestinian sovereignty a cause as historically doomed as the struggle of native American Indians?

Because the present tactics used by organs of Palestinian dual power are not capable of stopping the ongoing confiscation of land and water in the Occupied Territories, Palestinians can be expected to turn to a new strategy in the near future.

Unexpectedly, we caught a glimpse one evening in the West Bank of what this strategy might be. The family we were staying with had several sons, one of them serving a lifetime sentence for killing an Israeli. The father could remember a time when Jews and Arabs had lived in peace together. "We were all Palestinians," he recalled. "How will the young people know what reconciliation is?"

As dusk fell, we were taken to four homes

in the nearby community. At the first home, another son was serving a lifetime sentence, and because of the son's conduct the family's house had been sealed. The next family's home was scheduled for demolition. A teenage son showed us a nasty thigh wound that was said to have caused one leg to be four centimeters shorter than the other. Another son, who was in prison, was said to have been part of the "red eagle strike force."

The third and fourth homes to which we

Isn't Palestinian sovereignty a cause as historically doomed as the struggle of native American Indians?

were taken that evening were homes in which a son had recently been killed. In each case, the father presided as 15 or 20 persons developed a collective oral history of the "martyred" teenager. In each case, the father passed out photographs of the dead boy. In one picture the young man was holding a gun and in the other picture an automatic rifle.

Upon returning to the residence of our hosts, we tried to come to an understanding of what we had seen. We asked: "Is it the case that the movement in this community has opted for armed struggle?"

The answer was both long and sophisticated and short and simple. The long answer was that the movement had passed through three stages. In the first stage, in the '60s and '70s, the movement was characterized by violent actions initiated from outside Palestine by the PLO. The masses

were onlookers. In the second stage, beginning in the late '70s and including the intifada, the movement had turned to developing institutions of popular struggle within the Occupied Territories. Up to the present, the tactics used had been predominantly nonviolent. The third stage, about to begin, would be a stage of armed popular resistance based *inside* Palestine.

The short answer, therefore, was: yes, we see no alternative to armed struggle.

We discussed this experience with many knowledgeable persons during the remainder of our trip. It seems that at least the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), an influential faction within the PLO and the Unified National Leadership, is urging armed struggle. It appears that other groups are opposed, thinking, among other things, about the loss of international support a turn to violence might cause. No decision has yet been made.

The moment strikes us as similar to the situation in El Salvador in 1980. There, too, there had been roughly four years of active and essentially nonviolent struggle by organizations of the poor. (We have in mind the work of Father Rutilio Grande and his associates, and the preaching of Archbishop Romero.) With the disappointment of popular hopes, and especially after the murder of Archbishop Romero, came a turn to guerrilla warfare.

In Palestine, it seems to us, such a choice is likely unless the current peace process produces something tangible for Palestinians. If there is no concrete outcome to the current diplomatic maneuvering, however, that decision might well follow. The argument for guerrilla warfare is based in part on the belief that the occupation has to become so burdensome for Israel that Israel will want a way out. In this connection, it

might be remembered that in November 1983 Israel released something like 5,000 persons, mostly Palestinians, from a detention camp in Ansar, Lebanon, together with another several hundred prisoners held in the Occupied Territories, in exchange for six Israeli soldiers. Some Palestinians, therefore, consider that Israeli society could not tolerate the casualties that armed popular resistance might inflict. If Israeli society were confronted by casualties in significant numbers, as well as by the economic burdens that prolonged guerrilla warfare would produce, Israel might become willing to trade land for peace.

Alternative to bloody warfare? Despite the hardship they would cause innocent people, we see no alternative other than the application of South Africa-style sanctions to Israel by the United States and Europe. That strategy would make prolonging the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip burdensome for Israel, but without bloodshed and death. Specifically, it would require the Congress of the United States not only to reject the \$10 billion in loan guarantees that Israel presently seeks but also to cut off the \$3 billion to \$4 billion in assistance that the U.S. provides to Israel every year.

We urge Arabs, Jews, believers in non-violence, human rights advocates or simply human beings concerned to forestall the death of other human beings—to work to cut off economic aid to Israel until it withdraws from the Occupied Territories and agrees to treat Arab citizens of Israel as the equals of Jewish citizens.

Only in this way, we think, is there a possibility that a bloodbath for both Jews and Palestinians can be averted.

Staughton and Alice Lynd are now labor lawyers in Niles, Ohio.

By Joel Lewis

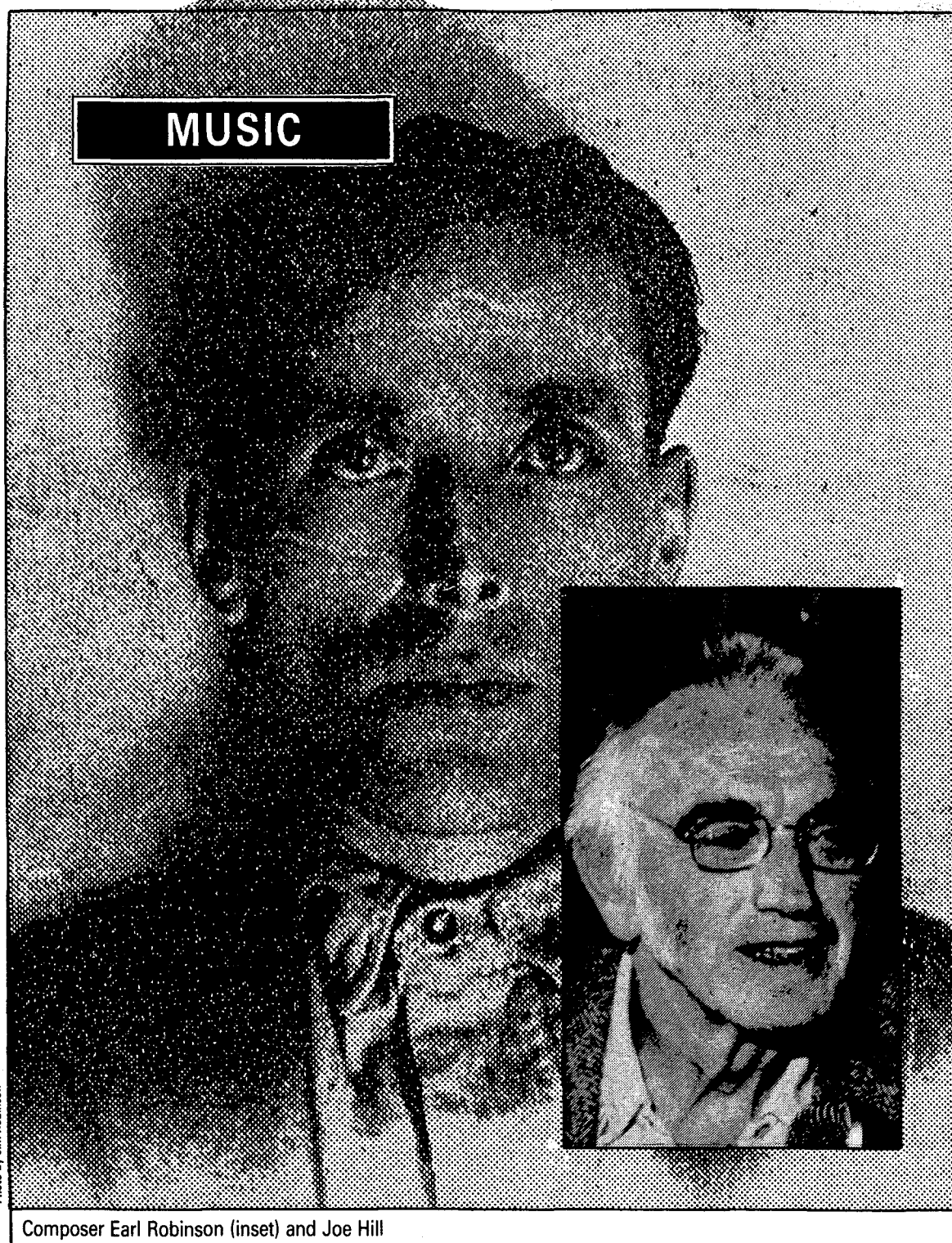
IN 1940, THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA and the Republican Party were closer ideologically than they ever were or ever would be. Both groups advocated an isolationist foreign policy. Both parties supported the New Deal—though each group argued that they could do a better job than the Democrats. And both were unabashedly patriotic and pro-American.

At their respective party conventions, both parties concurred again with the performance of "Ballad for Americans." This cantata, with a text by John Latouche, had created a sensation when it was broadcast on the CBS radio network on Nov. 5, 1939, with Paul Robeson as vocalist. While the Republicans and Communists enjoyed the performance of this eminently patriotic work, the composer of its musical score was being considered for custodial detention by the FBI for his left-wing political activities.

Earl Robinson, the composer in question, was never arrested for his CP membership. He was, however, blacklisted at the height of his career as a composer of film scores, orchestral works, songs and choral pieces. After some dark years in the '50s, his career revived with the folk-music resurgence of the '60s and the smashing of the blacklist. He was in his eighth decade of life, full of ideas and songs, when he was killed by a drunk driver in Seattle on July 20.

Favorite of presidents: Earl Robinson is the closest the U.S. has come to producing a left-wing composer of the stature of Hans Eisler or Kurt Weill. Though his musical teachers included Eisler, Aaron Copland and George Antheil, he composed folk tunes and choral pieces for children's groups in addition to orchestral works performed by symphony orchestras. He performed at the Roosevelt White House while Martin Dies (congressional commie-hunter No. 1) warned America that a sure sign of an organization being a "Communist Trojan Horse" was the performance of Earl Robinson's songs at group functions. Dies also dismissed the "Ballad for Americans" as "an American version of the Internationale." Obviously, Presidents Ford, Reagan and Bush failed to heed Dies' warnings, as each asked Frank Sinatra to perform Robinson's "The House I Live In" at the recent (and endless) "welcome home the troops" celebrations.

Robinson was born in Seattle on July 2, 1910. As a child, Robinson studied piano and later studied music at the University of Washington, graduating with a degree in music in 1933. Moving to New York City in 1934, Robinson became part of the burgeoning left-wing art community. His most notable involvement was with the Federal Theater—a brilliant organization much hated by anti-



Composer Earl Robinson (inset) and Joe Hill

MUSIC

Earl Robinson's red, white and blue

Communists because of its politics and the fact of its government funding. It was at the final Federal Theater production, *Sing for Your Supper*, that the "Ballad for Americans" was first performed.

It was during this period that another famous Robinson composition came into existence. Many people are surprised to learn that the anthemic song "Joe Hill" is not an anonymous folk ballad; in the summer of 1936, Earl Robinson set Alfred Hayes' lyric to music for a camp-fire program at Camp Unity. It quickly entered the repertoire of the labor song movement, being sung by the likes of Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger and Paul Robeson. In 1969, another folk singer, Joan Baez, sang "Joe Hill" to an audience of a half-million people at the Woodstock Music Festival. The beauty of Hayes' simple lyric is

enveloped by Robinson's haunting melody that seems unstuck in time and, therefore, timeless and new to each successive generation of listeners.

Classic compositions: Another durable Robinson composition is the aforementioned "The House I Live In," composed for a film short of the same name on the subject of racial tolerance. It won a special Academy Award for Robinson and the film's star, Frank Sinatra. Although "The House I Live In" was a Paul Robeson recital staple and was improvised upon by jazz musicians Sonny Rollins and Archie Shepp, the song has been associated with Sinatra's performance of it. Despite Sinatra's shift from a liberal Democrat to a "get-outta-my-face" Republican, he has continued to perform Robinson's song—most notably at the celebra-

tion for the centenary of the Statue of Liberty.

The early '50s were lean years for Robinson. Royalty income dwindled when his once-popular cantatas and songs became dangerous pieces to stage and perform. He survived by teaching music at the private Elisabeth Irwin High School and by performing on the leftist folk circuit of the '50s. One of the songs he composed in that period was "Black and White," written to commemorate the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling and recorded by Pete Seeger and Sammy Davis Jr. In 1972, the rock band Three Dog Night had a smash hit with the tune, and

Many are surprised to learn that the anthemic "Joe Hill" is not an anonymous folk ballad.

thereafter it was a steady source of income for its composer.

Back from the blacklist: The blacklist eventually lifted, and Robinson went on to record a number of albums for Folkways. His song "Hurry Sundown" became a hit for Peter, Paul and Mary, with his older songs and cantatas once again being performed and recorded. He began scoring for films again and composing for the stage. One show, *Earl Robinson's America*, summed up his life's work during the the American Bicentennial.

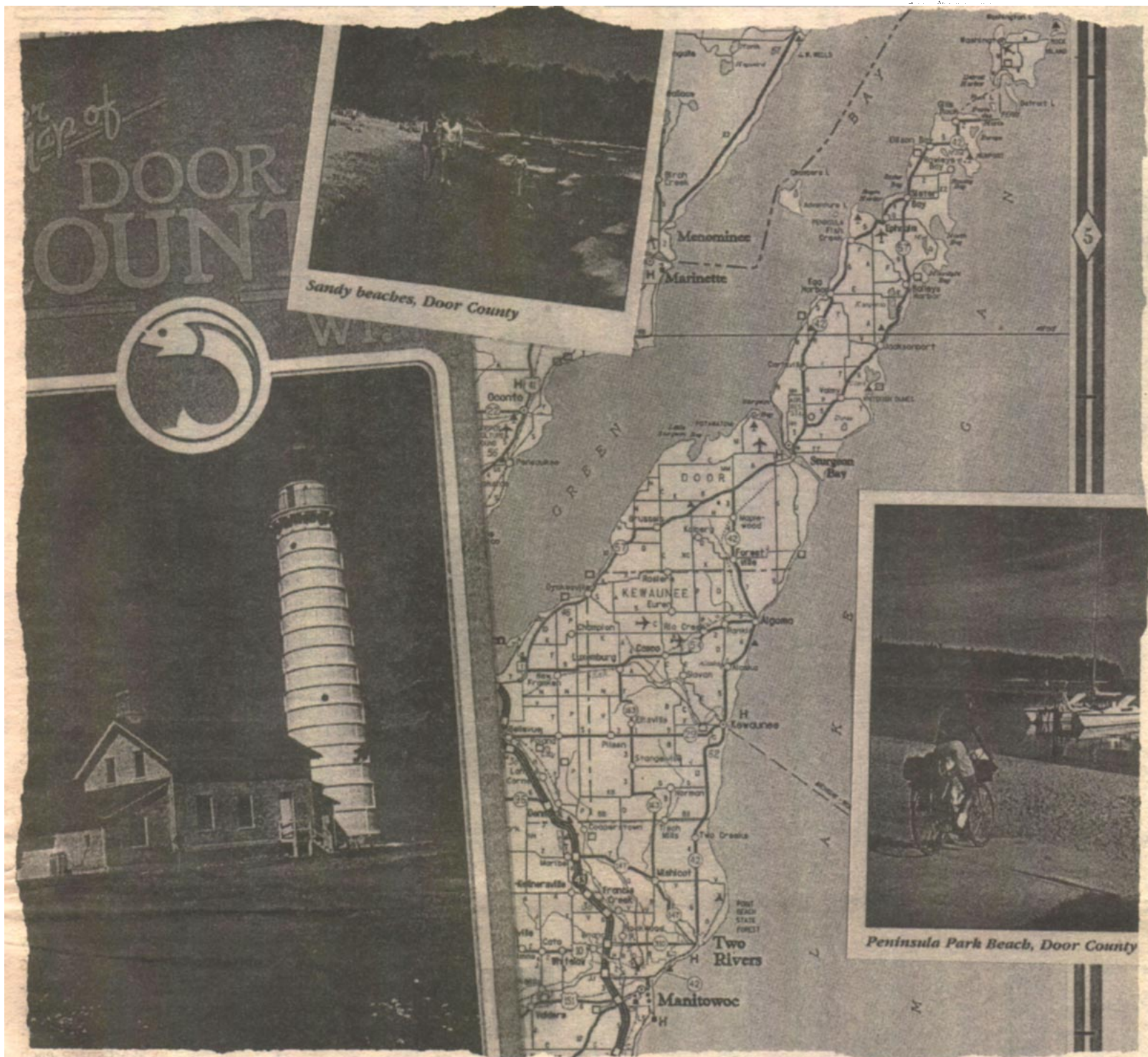
In his last years, Robinson became involved in the New Age movement, writing songs about reincarnation and participating in channeling sessions. Although this caused a bit of dismay among some of his leftist admirers, I see it as a rather extreme extension of the Popular Front Communism that Robinson helped promote with his songs. After all, doesn't Joe Hill come back in a dream to say that he didn't die? Unlike the bite of Brecht's lyrics, Robinson's best-known songs are unashamedly patriotic, humanistic and non-dialectical. And despite his philosophical change, he continued to perform his old songs and even recorded a remarkable album of workers' songs with his friends Ronnie Gilbert and Pete Seeger.

I knew Earl through his son Perry, a much-regarded jazz clarinetist and fellow Hobokenite. Earl was a remarkable individual, uncommonly modest about the breadth of his achievements and unusually interested in the lives of the people around him. He often gave solo performances at a local art space, each of them special and memorable. One could understand why so many joined the Communist Party during the '40s. Unlike the dark energy the New Left seemed to tap into, Robinson's music presented a vision of an affirmative and non-alienating culture.

My wife and I were lucky enough to be invited to Earl's 80th birthday celebration, held at an Off-Broadway theater. The room was filled with old friends and colleagues from his New York City days. And when Earl came up to sing his songs, everyone in the audience sang along with him—not just the chorus but on each stanza. After the performance, we asked a woman next to us how she learned all the songs. "Camp Kinderling," she said, referring to the famous leftist summer camp. "I grew up with Earl's songs." Could any composer ask for a better legacy?

There are three albums of Robinson's music available: *Earl Robinson: Alive and Well* (Aspen Records), *Songs of the Working People* (Flying Fish), and *Earl Robinson Sings* (Folkways). Paul Robeson's performance of "Ballad for Americans" is available on an eponymously titled album (Vanguard).

Joel Lewis is a writer living in Hoboken, N.J.



The First Amendment country blues

Chronicles of a Rural Journalist in America

By Norbert Blei
Samizdat Press
474 pp., \$11.95

By Dallas Crow

QUESTIONS OF CENSORSHIP and free speech are everywhere these days. Attacks come from the right and left, depending on the topic. Conservatives worry about the orthodoxy of political correctness and its effect on campus free speech. Gay protesters in San Francisco try to halt filming of a movie they fear will be anti-gay. In Minneapolis, a television station doesn't renew the contract of an investigative reporter whose work offended automobile dealerships and ended up costing the station \$1 million in ad revenues. A University of Massachusetts professor is threatened with a lawsuit by MTV for a videotape he made to demonstrate the violent sexism in music videos. In publishing, one has the Brett Easton Ellis, Peter Matthiessen and Salman Rushdie fiascos. And

there's always the National Endowment for the Arts, rap and heavy-metal.

Small-town news: *Chronicles of a Rural Journalist in America* presents another case, one so peculiar it sounds as if it was scripted by Hollywood. The setting is Door County, a scenic Wisconsin peninsula that juts out into Lake Michigan not far from Milwaukee, Green Bay and Chicago, where author/protagonist Norbert Blei has lived for 20 years. He has written a number of books and published in such toney journals as *The New Yorker* and *Tri Quarterly*. With the promise of no editing or censorship from the editor and publisher, Lon Kopitzke, Blei undertakes the writing of a column, "Blei/At Large," for the weekly advertising circular delivered free of charge to everyone in the county with a mailbox.

Blei's first columns blast the local newspaper, *The Advocate*, which he calls *The Aggravate*, for their placement of blue plastic boxes along all the rural roads in the area. A relatively small issue, no doubt, but Blei musters all his anger and sarcasm

and turns it into a divisive county-wide issue. He considers the boxes an eyesore and refers to the problem as the "Bluebonic Box Plague." He runs a contest asking readers for alternative uses for the boxes with

CENSORSHIP

winners getting a drink at the local bar on his tab.

He goes on to write many more frivolous columns that among other things suggest that the Green Bay Packers should be renamed the Green Bay Turkeys. He also introduces fictional characters Rev. Swifty Prophets and Lovta Dumore X, a "former porn star and born-again-and-again Christian" who supposedly works as his secretary.

As might be expected, Blei's irreverence for local sacred cows

The Constitution gives us free speech, but it's money that talks.

angered a number of people. But he assured his demise when he critiqued the tourist trade, expressing concern over the direction the rustic, picturesque region was going. In a Swiftian modest proposal called "Shut the Damn Door," Blei suggests creating an amusement park-like complex at the southern end of the county with all the tourist niceties there, then blocking off the rest of the peninsula to new development. In this way, the area would retain its natural beauty, the original tourist attraction.

Getting the door: The column ends with a suggestion that sounds like it could have been written by the Chamber of Commerce. "You want to experience a memorable time while visiting Door County? Take any dirt road and get lost. You may discover the real value of this place. You may discover yourself."

A number of merchants involved in the tourist industry didn't take kindly to Blei's ideas and threatened to withdraw their advertising. Editor and publisher Kopitzke decided to let Blei go rather than risk any further wrath from advertisers and

readers.

The book's great strength is that the entire affair is documented. Along with Blei's columns, you can read the letters to the editor about them, Kopitzke's columns and explanations and other newspapers' accounts as well as interviews with Blei and Kopitzke.

Money talks, freely: Kopitzke, apparently a nice enough guy but hapless as an editor, is particularly revealing in his attempts to explain his understanding of the First Amendment and his lack of support for his writer. "The Constitution gives us free speech, but it's economics that really talks. We have to listen to our customers." Asked by Blei how he understands the First Amendment, he responds, "Well, I agree ... if it doesn't deal with economics. First Amendment is fine for the other guy, but if it doesn't work with your thinking, the hell with it. It makes good reading."

Despite the book's documentary value, it has a number of drawbacks. First and foremost, despite Blei's desire not to be edited, he is a writer who could only benefit from a good editor. He's frequently boorish and self-serving, and his humor is often sophomoric or worse. In the end, this book could be cut in half and it would make a much stronger statement.

The third section of the book is composed of essays written under the pseudonyms "Salvador Prague" and "Coyote" after Blei's column was discontinued. Blei's self-indulgence reaches offensive heights in this section when he insists on considering himself "disappeared," a term used for kidnapped Latin Americans who have suffered significantly more for their views than simply losing an unedited column. The parallels he's making are obvious, but the effect is melodramatic and self-serving. Much like Lenny Bruce and Jello Biafra after their tangles with the authorities, Blei loses his humor and perspective as he dwells on the injustices of his situation.

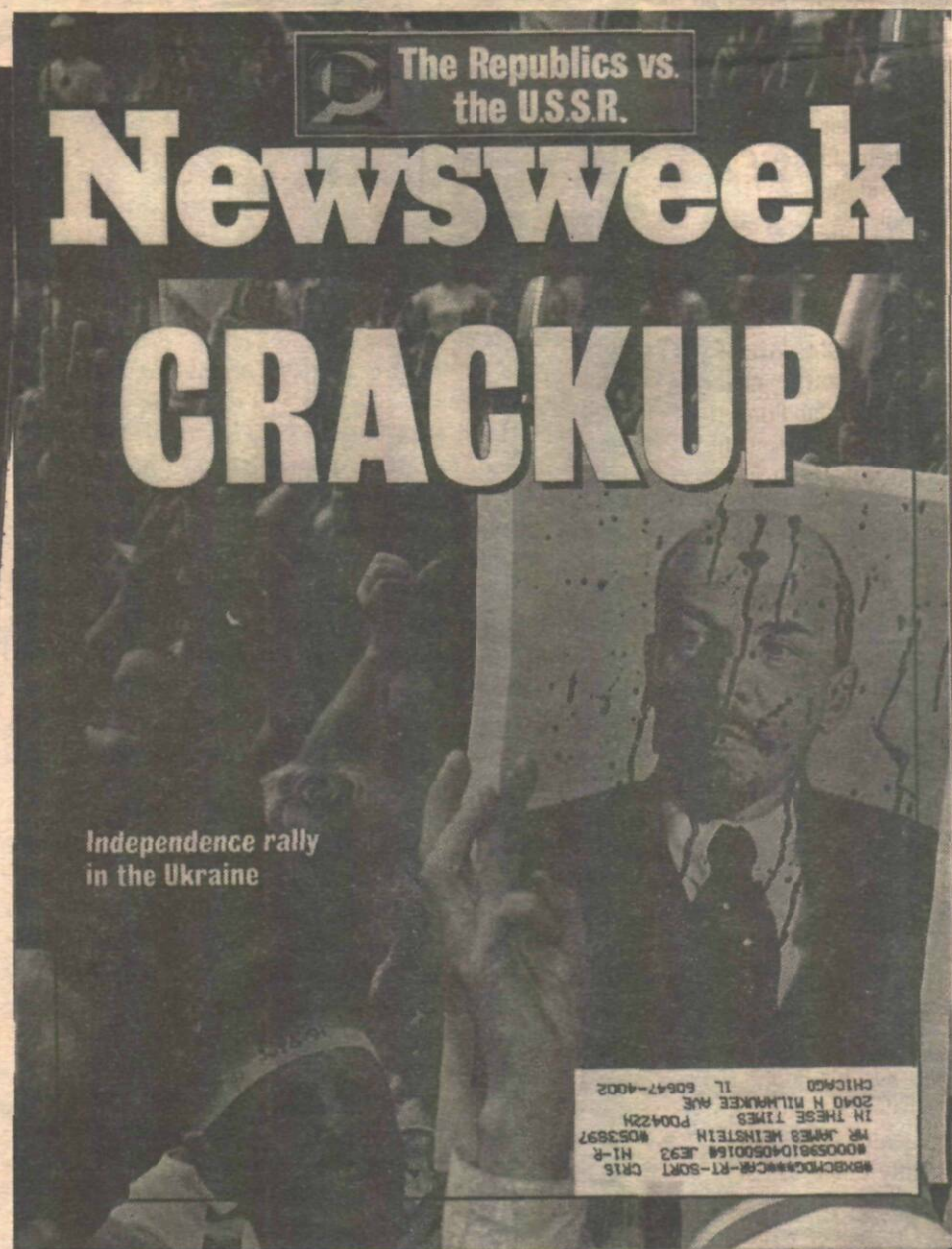
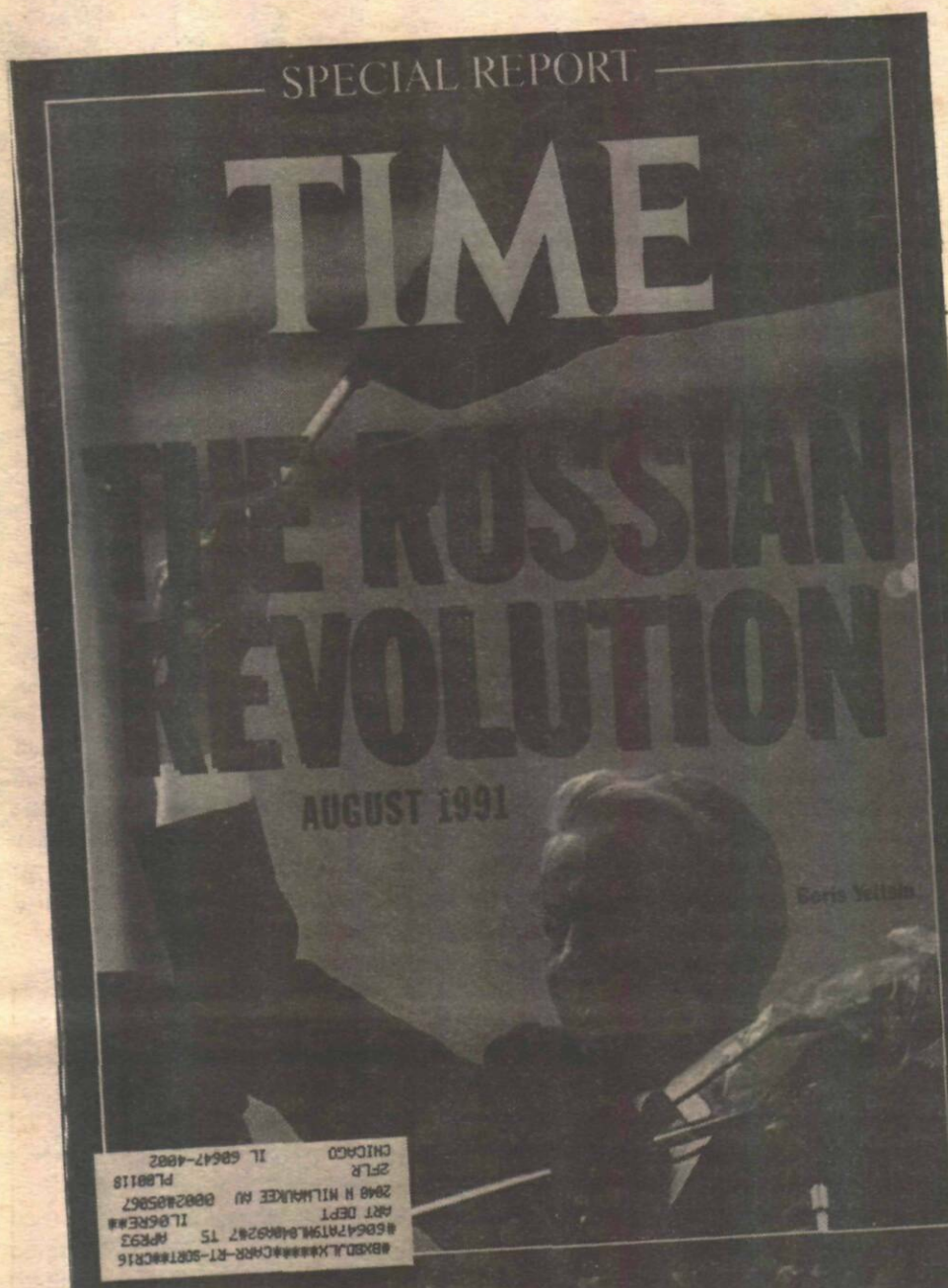
Part of what makes this such a valuable document for exploring and discussing questions of free speech is its smallness—a minor writer working for a nearly insignificant publication writing about predominantly local issues.

Free speech issues often receive massive media attention nationwide, to a large extent because they can be manipulated to serve many people's religious, political and/or moral agendas. These biases then cloud people's abilities to think about and discuss the First Amendment. By offering a fully-documented case that, to most non-Door County residents, is empty of those loaded agendas, *Chronicles of a Rural Journalist in America* offers a textbook example for thinking about First Amendment rights.

Dallas Crow is a writer living in Minneapolis.

Major media convergence

If recent covers are any indication, the two major newsweeklies, *Time* and *Newsweek*, may become different in logo only. Their September 2 issues were close, but the following week both featured the same photo by Anatoly Sapronenko. Perhaps hoping to emulate their circulation figures, *In These Times* also came up with "The Second Russian Revolution" for its September 4 headline.



Running

Continued from page 24

Ventura seems confused by *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* or *Marathon Man*, Barbara Ehrenreich by Evian and health club ads. Even my friends are always asking, "Do you get runner's high?" I'm sure all runners take their frustrations onto the road to be massaged into submission, but how does that make running different from most anything else?

Running is largely what the runner makes of it. There may be some who treat it as a safe steroid to get pumped up for the corporate life. But for me running has been the contemporary equivalent to the great 19th-century tradition of walking. I'm no Dickens, who covered so much of London in his afternoon jaunts, but I can easily imagine him being captivated by the daily life along my running route: the salsa-mobiles parked down by Hoboken's abandoned flattop piers, broadcasting their music onto the Hudson River; the little kids playing sidewalk football with parking signs for goal lines; the stragglers who took a shortcut up an old cobblestone street that zig-zagged from Hoboken right to Jersey City Heights, passing several rusted car frames parked in the weeds. In *Fear of Falling*, Ehrenreich makes much of the false picture that professionals have of America as a country of suburbs and pleasant offices; she's right, as I learned from running.

Early bird catches the flack: I lived in Hoboken during the '80s, an era when gentrification was in full swing. For young college grads, Hoboken was Greenwich Village on a budget, for old residents it was a hometown being overturned by corporate women in suit dresses and sneakers. "You got there early," people often told me after Hoboken made the hip map. And the *New York Times* often covered town as *thirtysomething*-on-the-Hudson with articles about yuppies restoring their stained-glass doorways or having their children commute into Manhattan on the subway PATH trains for private grade school.

I preferred to think I got there late, or at least in the middle. But I could hardly pretend I wasn't a gentrifier. While my wife and I painted the fake wood paneling of our kitchen a soft peach—going for the country look—our landlord downstairs decorated our narrow tenement stairway with lush plastic plants in Romanesque plastic gold pots. He spoke English through the first syllable, calling me "Mist Nix," while I spoke even less Spanish. We endlessly complained about the roof leaks that made the ceiling panels look coffee stained. He had a stiff limp from an accident climbing out of his old apartment in a burning building, one no doubt renovated into condos. We never discussed politics, yet our different lives were a classic political story that fills such books as *Fear of Falling*.

Hoboken had its share of official politics, of course. For much of the '80s we had a people's mayor who had gotten his start running a flophouse, where he slept on the pool table at night as his own guard dog. He earned a college degree over a decade by studying books opened under the bar. By the '80s, his flophouse was ancient history, transformed into a "Sports Bistro" with matching TVs high in the corners permanently tuned to ESPN, whose astroturf was the brightest green in town.

Our mayor walked the sidewalks with his cheap bullhorn in hand, wishing us all a good

day. Strollers often gave him wide berth, as if to avoid this tugboat of a man in a cheap suit and a carnival barker's wide tie, but we couldn't resist voting him into office. He didn't preserve the old Hoboken, no one could, but at least he was too noisy and rude for the clubhouse tradition of Hudson County politics. He died one night of a heart attack after his slate did poorly in a school board election.

The last time I saw him alive he was standing beside a police cruiser, cheerfully telling an elderly woman that his new leather shoes were so tight he'd called for a ride down the street to the cobbler. He was a far cry from any political theory I've ever read.

Photo opportunities: We had our metaphysics, too. In 1988, Michael Dukakis served beer for 15 minutes downstairs from my apartment, standing on wooden pallets advance men had laid behind the bar so he wouldn't vanish behind the Budweiser tap handles. The master, of course, was Ronald Reagan, who dropped by in 1984 soon after Geraldine Ferraro was picked as a vice-presidential candidate to prove he could eat pasta with the best of them. Besides, Hoboken was Frank Sinatra's hometown.

The presidential entourage flew in low, half a dozen helicopters in an oval formation no doubt perfected in Vietnam and landed on a local sports field covered with protective straw. I planned to boycott the whole thing and do my laundry instead, but when those copters came thumping over the tenement rooftops, I dropped my bag at the laundromat and joined the throngs crowding outside the church where the Gipper was dining. He lasted about 45 minutes before his entourage suddenly pulled out of the church

lot, now traveling in identical stretch limos with Secret Service men hanging onto the sides like human buoys.

For one fleeting moment I saw evidence of life inside a tinted rear window, a disembodied hand gently rocking like a dashboard ornament. Our president. The political pundits later waxed poetically about Ronnie's helicopter strike deep within such a traditional Democratic stronghold, but I suspect we were too awed by his mobile castle to confuse his visit with real politics.

So I learned by running. After a day of post-industrial labor at my computer screen, I would slip on my running clothes and head out the door in to an old factory town, Hoboken, an old port, the setting for *On the Waterfront*. I ran down River Street, once nicknamed the Barbary Coast for its wall-to-wall bars, now replaced by a pair of five-story parking garages with metal sides ragged like cheese graters, and by empty lots made into baseball diamonds with weedy outfields. Ehrenreich describes exercise as "a covert extension of childhood," as if adulthood is inherently sedentary, but I fondly remembered years long forgotten as I passed pickup baseball games and formal football practices. My youthful games had been played on the large parks of suburban Connecticut with duck ponds in the distance, not brick pier buildings, but my jockish dreams hadn't been so different. Then the road elbowed into the river and came back to the Maxwell House factory with a huge red neon coffee cup on a billboard facing Manhattan. The famous last drop blinked down the sign like a tear.

Other worlds, other lives: At the end of the '80s, General Foods announced it would close the plant in favor of one in

Florida, finishing off Hoboken's great industrial past. I continued down to the end of town where an empty Bethlehem Steel plant stood like a giant checkerboard of red brick and boarded-up yellow windows. But heading into the back side of Hoboken, where the grid pattern of streets ran out of cars, I found pockets of industry: a casket factory, a fenced yard with stacked ship propellers, a chemical plant with faint amonia in the air and the greenest strip of grass in town. The low block-long factories made of brick or corrugated steel weren't mausoleums quite yet.

Or I could run out of Hoboken up the long hill to Weehawken, where gentrification hadn't reached the tightly packed gray houses. Children clustered on the sidewalks, jumping rope, eating popsicles from the corner stores, haggling with their mothers up in the windows. Every so often an adult would give me a curious look and say, "Training for the Olympics?" I guess running wasn't big in the neighborhood. The young men had the taut chests and molded arms of weightlifters. They played basketball on the blacktop basketball courts in the otherwise empty parks.

I was definitely a visitor here, but an accepted one. My life of friends and career always took me across the river to Manhattan, but my life of running kept me exploring through Weehawken, Jersey City Heights, places that gradually came to feel like home. Much has been made of racial separation in our society, but I think we suffer as much from geographic separateness. Running may bear the marks of the yuppie class, but I have yet to find a better way to make a stranger's streets feel like your own. ■

Will Nixon is a writer and editor living in New York who works for *E* magazine.

**Rough
Cuts
BY
JARED**

Downwardly mobile, demographically global, he's a...

dirty scumthing



Living below his means
in last year's jeans
He's down-sizing
The American Dream

**From
Demographics
To
Them-ographics!**

**Fall
Replacement
SERIES

293**

Message to Israeli Government & U.S. Congress from some American & Israeli Jews:
END THE OCCUPATION! LET THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE GO! NO MORE BILLIONS UNTIL!

For a unique and free information packet please contact:

The Jewish Committee On The Middle East (JCOME)

(202) 362-JCOME - (202) 362-5266 - Fax (202) 362-6965 - POB 18367 - Washington, DC 20036

JCOME ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Dr. Yigal Arens, Univ. of Southern CA; Prof. Michael Astour, Univ. of Southern IL; Prof. Joel Beinin, Middle East History, Stanford Univ.; Mark Bruzonsky, Former Washington Rep. World Jewish Congress; Prof. Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.; Prof. Richard Falk, Princeton Univ.; Prof. Herbert Hill, Univ. of WI; Jeremy Levin, Former CNN Beirut Bureau Chief; Prof. Zachary Lockman, Middle East History, Harvard Univ.; Prof. Seymour Melman, Columbia Univ.; Dr. Eileen Newmark, Ph.D., Intercultural Communications; Prof. Don Peretz, Middle East Studies, SUNY; Henry Schwarzschild NY; Prof. J. David Singer, Univ. of MI; Richard Walden, Attorney. With Jewish Professors at over 150 Universities nationwide.

New: "INFO BY FAX" - Call For Details

Students: Please Call...We Need Interns.

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 25-OCT. 1, 1991 21

Louisiana

Continued from page 13

where government spending and bureaucracy have been pummeled repeatedly since the late '60s. Duke's gut-level attacks on "welfare queens" play better than left-liberal critiques of an amorphous military-industrial complex.

Of course, Duke's left-wing critics are correct in pointing out that welfare programs comprise only a tiny fraction of government spending—less than 10 percent of Louisiana's state budget. But their criticism misses the point: David Duke and his followers offer solutions. They may be soft solutions, but they're more appealing to most Americans than the left's hard critiques. The left can eloquently explain how multinationals launder billions from the U.S. economy with the skill and impunity of the drug cartels. But when it comes to offering practical policies to tame those institutions—programs to "file their nails and cut their hair," as Huey Long put it—the left has little to offer.

David Duke's solutions don't add up to half-a-loaf. They're just barely crumbs. But for many Americans, that's more than anyone else has provided. For those citizens who believe they are voiceless and powerless, Duke's crumbs may be enough for now.

No wonder David Duke remains confident. "We're gonna win this race," Duke says, "and send a message to all the anti-establishment forces, left and right, all over the country."

Limited choice: Of course, Duke is not running unopposed. Perhaps the strongest challenge to his base comes from the Republican Party's official candidate, Rep. Clyde Holloway, a veteran of Louisiana's "ax-han-

dle school of politics" (as anti-busing activism here is fondly remembered). Depending on whom you talk to, the third-term congressman is a spoiler sent into the race by the RNC to derail Duke. Or he's the state party's triggerman sent to spank Buddy Roemer and the RNC for trying to steamroller the locals. Or both. Or neither. What is clear is that the staunchly pro-life Holloway, although given little chance of winning, could siphon fundamentalist support away from Duke.

With its large Catholic, fundamentalist and Baptist populations, Louisiana is a strong anti-abortion state. Although Roemer vetoed the state legislature's most recent anti-abortion bill when it failed to provide exceptions in case of rape or incest, he—like all the major candidates—is pro-life. With Roemer, whose veto was overturned, laying low on the issue, abortion has not been a dominant issue in the campaign.

Money, of course, is an issue in any campaign. In Louisiana this year, money has been prominent by its absence. In 1983, Edwards raised more than \$13 million for his gubernatorial campaign. This time he's shooting for \$3 million. Ditto Roemer. While the recession has dented media budgets, it hasn't eliminated them. And with Sam Dawson running Roemer's campaign, election analysts anticipate an inspired round of negative TV spots. But negative ads work best against wimpy unknowns such as Michael Dukakis. Both Edwards and Duke are well defined down here, and both can take care of themselves.

The experts here don't expect anyone to win an outright majority in the October 19 primary, a result that would send the two leading vote-getters into a runoff. At the moment, most forecasters predict a Roemer-Ed-

wards rematch with the incumbent prevailing. Don't bet on it. Primaries are about shoring up one's base. And both Edwards and Duke have stronger backing than Roemer, whose base—the wealthy, business and single-issue constituents—is built on quicksand. Add Roemer's expected difficulties with the Legis-

lature, more erratic behavior and you're looking at an Edwards-Duke finale, similar to last year's Johnston-Duke Senate race.

Louisiana always suffers through a long, hot summer. This fall should be a real scorcher.

Sheldon Sunness is a writer living in New York.

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

NEW YORK

September 19-29

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL

Saturday, Sept. 21—Introductory Spanish, level II (first of 12 3-hour classes), 10 a.m.; \$290.
Bruce Kayton, Radical Walking Tour of Greenwich Village (meets in front of Village Cigars, Seventh Ave. South and Christopher St.), 1 p.m.; \$6.
Sunday, Sept. 22—Cartoons and Illustrations from *The Guardian* (art opening; on view through Oct. 18), 4 p.m.; free.
Monday, Sept. 23—Introductory Spanish, level I (first of 26 2-hour classes), Section A: 8:30 a.m.; Section B: 8 p.m.; \$390.
Intermediate Spanish (first of 26 2-hour classes), Section A: 11 a.m.; \$390.
Gil Green, The Communist Party, USA in Retrospect (lecture), 7 p.m.; \$6.
Tuesday, Sept. 24—Intermediate Spanish (first of 26 2-hour classes), Section B: 8:30 a.m.; Section C: 6 p.m.; \$390.
Phyllis Bennis, The Marxist Left and Social Movements (lecture), 8 p.m.; \$6.
Wednesday, Sept. 25—Renee Toback, Economics for Daily Life (first of 6 classes), 6 p.m.; \$70.
Sunday, Sept. 29—African Beginnings (poetry/discussion), 2 p.m.; \$5.
Friday, Oct. 4—Leo Panitch, Beyond Communism and Social Democracy: Rethinking Socialist Strategy (lecture), 7 p.m.; \$8.
Saturday, Oct. 5—Leo Panitch, Left Democracy and the Challenge to the State (intensive seminar), 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; \$65 (includes previous evening's lecture).
Jaz Dorsey, Playwriting for Marxists (first of 8 workshops), 1:30 p.m.; \$80.
TOPLAB—Theater of the Oppressed Laboratory, IM-AGES: A Participatory Performance, 7:30 p.m.; \$7.
Upcoming Intensive Seminars: Oct. 17-20, Terry Eagleton, Marxism, Aesthetics and Morality; Nov. 14-17, Boris Kagarlitsky, Perestroika, Society and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union; Dec. 2-4, Luciana Castellina, 1992 and Left Politics in Europe.
Unless specified, all events take place at The New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks below Canal St. between Church St. and Broadway), New York, NY 10013. Scholarships are available for low-income people. Call or write for complete Fall 1991 catalog describing all classes, seminars, lectures, and other events. For more information, call (212) 941-0332.

September 24

The Campaign for Peace and Democracy and Riverside Church are sponsoring a major forum on "The Future of the USSR." Panelists are John Palmer, European correspondent for *The Guardian* (London); Doug Ireland, columnist for *The Village Voice*; and Joanne Landy, director of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy. Admission free, 7 p.m., Riverside Church Assembly Hall, entrance on Claremont between West 120th and 121st Streets. For details, contact: CPD, P.O. Box 1640, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025, (212) 666-5924.

September 25

The Campaign for Peace and Democracy will host John Palmer, European correspondent for *The Guardian* (London) in a talk on "European Union and U.S. Foreign Policy." Admission free, 6:45 p.m., Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, 15 Union Square West, 6th Floor. For details, contact: CPD, P.O. Box 1640, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025, (212) 666-5924.

September 28-29

Special National Workers World Party Conference on "The Crisis in the USSR; the Struggle to Defend Socialism; Building the Class Struggle in the U.S." Saturday Morning Session (10 a.m.) features keynote speech by Sam Marcy, chairperson, Workers World Party. Information: (212) 255-0352. WWP, 46 West 21st St., New York, NY 10010.

MILWAUKEE

October 4

Mobilization for Survival sponsors "From 'New World' to 'New World Order': Celebrating 500 Years of Resistance." Food, music, keynotes: Hugo Blanco of Peru, Menominee activist Ingrid Washinawatok, Camille Odeh of Palestinian Women's Associations. Plymouth Church, 2717 E. Hampshire, 6-9 p.m. National Convention, Oct. 5-6, East Troy, WI. Information: (414) 964-5158.

CHICAGO

October 5

The Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America celebrates 10 years of Solidarity with the People of Central America and looks forward to the challenges ahead. You are cordially invited to dinner, honors and awards and dancing to WXRT discjockey Terri Hemmert. Saturday, Oct. 5, 6-12 p.m. at the Unitarian Church of Evanston, 1330 Ridge Ave., Evanston. Suggested donation \$15 per person. Table for 10: \$135. Parking available. For tickets or information, contact the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 59 E. Van Buren, #1400, Chicago, IL 60605, (312) 663-4398.

October 5

MEDIA UNDERFIRE: A ROUNDTABLE OF AUTHORS & JOURNALISTS discussing the muzzling of the media and the role of independent media today will take place on Saturday, Oct. 5, at 4 p.m. at the Guild Complex at the Hot House, 1569 N. Milwaukee Ave. Don't miss it! Several notable editors and journalists are featured. This special roundtable is part of the Banned Book Week running from Sept. 28 through Oct. 5. Interested persons may obtain additional information by calling the Hot House at 278-2210 or Guild Books (2456 N. Lincoln Ave.) at 525-3667.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

AT BOULDER

October 4-6

The Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) will host **COMMON GROUND**, the third annual national student environmental conference. Thousands of students will gather at Common Ground to prepare for the next generation of environmental campaigns and battles. Common Ground will focus on diversifying the environmental movement, placing a global perspective on our grassroots campaigns and developing student leadership. The conference will feature professional and student leaders from both the environmental and social-justice movements. Confirmed speakers include David Brower (chairperson, Earth Island Institute), Heather Booth (founder, Midwest Academy), and Pat Bryant (director, Gulf Coast Tenants Association). Also invited are Noel Brown (N. American director, U.N. Environmental Programme), Howard Zinn (author, *People's History of the United States*), and Tony Mazzocchi (president, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers). The national conference is vital in the attempt to strengthen the student environmental movement, according to Common Ground Co-Chair Jeannette Galanis. "With so many people across the country fighting for the preservation of the Earth, strong networking and widespread coordinating is crucial to the success of our efforts." For registration information, please call (303) 440-5290 or write Common Ground, 862 17th St., Boulder, CO 80302.

HAITI

December 5-15

HEALTH DELEGATION TO HAITI. Visit health centers, meet health workers and policymakers, learn the history of health and politics in Haiti. NCAHRN/Links, 853 Broadway, Suite 416, NYC 10003. (212) 420-9635.

LOVELAND, OHIO

January-May, 1992

"New Women, New Earth," a residential, experiential living/learning semester exploring related themes of ecology, eco-feminism, spirituality and multi-cultural American experience at Grailville, an innovator in women's education since 1944, located on 300-plus acres of organic farmland/gardens, pastures/woodland, with nature trails, ponds, solar greenhouse. Individual and group study, interaction with visiting scholars, experience in sustainable agriculture, creating rituals, community-as-process, performing arts. Open to women from all stages of life. College credit available. Contact: Audrey Sorrento, Grailville, 932 O'Bannonville Rd., Loveland, OH 45140. (513) 683-2340.

A reliable source...

For 15 years IN THESE TIMES has been informing, analyzing and investigating—struggling to fill in what's been ignored by the mainstream media. And, unlike the mainstream media, we count on supporters like you to keep publishing. As the cliché goes, "You need us now more than ever." Drop us a line or several and we'll create an ad. Or send us your camera-ready mechanical. Our deadline is October 4, 1991, but we will gladly reserve space before then.

...for 15 years

15th Anniversary Rate Card and Order Form

<input type="checkbox"/> Full page	\$2400	10 x 14
<input type="checkbox"/> Half page	1300	10 x 7
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior page	1450	7 1/2 x 10
<input type="checkbox"/> Third page	900	10 x 4 3/4
<input type="checkbox"/> Quarter page	750	5 x 7
<input type="checkbox"/> Eighth page	390	5 x 3 1/2
<input type="checkbox"/> Sixteenth page	225	2 7/16 x 3 1/2
<input type="checkbox"/> Thirty-second page	115	2 7/16 x 2
<input type="checkbox"/> Organizational greeting	90	
<input type="checkbox"/> Individual greeting	30	

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE _____

Deadline for ads is October 4, 1991.

IN THESE TIMES, 2040 North Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647 • (312) 772-0100

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible job opportunities. Subscribe to the only monthly nationwide listing covering peace & justice, civil rights, unions, consumer advocacy, organizing, social work and more. \$25/one year. Send checks payable to **ACCESS: Networking in the Public Interest**, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 720-5627.

ORGANIZING DIRECTOR. Louisiana Coalition for Tax Justice, a statewide network of community, labor and environmental organizations fighting for progressive tax reform and political power for low- and moderate-income citizens, seeks an **ORGANIZING DIRECTOR**. Duties include: membership recruitment, fundraising, chapter formation, organizing parish and statewide direct-action campaigns, training and supervising a staff of 2-5 field organizers. Current LCTJ campaigns involve stopping tax breaks to polluters, reforming corporate tax breaks to increase funding to local schools, creating jobs for Louisiana workers, and fighting other forms of corporate welfare. Job qualifications include 2-3 years experience in either community or labor organizing, and previous management and supervisory experience. Salary: \$15,000-\$18,000, based on experience and qualifications. Full benefits. EOE. Resume, cover letter, references to: LA Coalition, 8841 Bluebonnet Blvd., Suite C, Baton Rouge, LA 70810-2847; contact Fred Brooks, (504) 945-8221 or (504) 766-1484.

EDITORIAL PROMOTIONS position open at *In These Times*. Duties include promoting ITT editors, writers among commercial news media; developing publicity materials and implementing public relations strategies in conjunction with editorial, circulation departments; promoting ITT as fundraiser incentive to NPR, community and Pacifica radio stations. Must have strong writing skills, ability to cold call mainstream media outlets and relate to editorial writers and columnists, ability to relate well to diverse political organizations. Salaried half-time position with some benefits. Send resume and non-returnable samples to James Weinstein, Editor, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647, by Sept. 30.

UNION ORGANIZER. Rapidly growing, progressive local seeks organizers for statewide projects in Louisiana and Texas organizing service employees (nursing homes, school support workers, etc.). Pay \$9,000 to \$14,000 a year, benefits include employer-paid health coverage. Women and people of color encouraged to apply. Send a resume, names of three references, and a cover letter to Nina Schulman, Local 100, Service Employees International Union AFL-CIO, 5177 Greenwell Springs Rd., Baton Rouge, LA 70806, (504) 923-3102.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Name _____
Company/Institution _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone () _____
Call toll-free 800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

NUDIST VIDEOS
FAMILY NATURISM
\$3 for color catalog:
NAT-FAM (ITT), Box 838,
Venice, CA 90294

CLASSIFIEDS

ENVIRONMENTAL/LABOR ORGANIZER: The National Toxics Campaign and the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union are seeking a community or labor organizer with minimum 2 years experience. Writing and communication skills required. Knowledge of environmental and/or labor issues necessary. Salary commensurate with experience. Send resume and writing sample to: NTC/OCAW, 8841 Bluebonnet Blvd., Suite C, Baton Rouge, LA 70810.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Non-profit engaged in immigrants' rights. Experience in social change struggles helpful. Program development, administration and fundraising. Excellent speaking and writing. Salary up to mid-30s. Start November 1991. Send resume and letter to Search Committee, Center for Immigrants Rights, 48 St. Marks Place, New York, NY 10003.

PUBLICATIONS

QUEERS! *Gay Community News*—For nearly two decades, *GCN* has been a national forum for lesbian and gay life and liberation. *GCN* provides the kind of probing, insightful news, analysis and entertainment coverage that makes it "the source for up-to-date weekly coverage of lesbian and gay politics and culture nationwide." (Richard Burns, Director, New York Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center). With articles ranging from queers in the military to television's first gay cartoon kiss, there's always something for everyone, every week! 1 year, \$39; 6 months, \$25; or for a sample copy, send \$2 (to cover shipping and handling) to: *GCN* Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX: TOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. API is an invaluable tool for your study of social change. 250 alternative & radical publications indexed. Ask the folks at your library to subscribe. \$125/institutions, \$30/individuals. Write Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218 for more information.

1991-92 DIRECTORY OF ALTERNATIVE & RADICAL PUBLICATIONS. Over 350 periodicals listed, \$4.00. Write: Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218.

Nicaragua speaks for itself!
Barricada Internacional, monthly, bilingual news about Central America. Sample free! \$35/year; \$18/6 mo. Barricada USA-I, PO Box 410150 SF, CA 94141



SOCIALIST BIWEEKLY. Since 1891. \$1/4 months. The People (ITT). P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

RADIATION MATTERS subscriptions are FREE. 316 Bridger, #344-T, Las Vegas, Nevada 89101.

THEY'RE GAMBLING WITH YOUR MONEY! *Dollars & Sense*—the progressive economics monthly—demystifies economics, debunks conservative economic ideas and uncovers how corporate and government maneuvers affect you. Introductory subscription: \$16.95. *Dollars & Sense*, One Summer St., 2nd Floor, Somerville, MA 02143.

BOOKS

"ANARCHIST COOKBOOK"—Available again! \$22, postpaid. Barricade Books, Box 1401-J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

EROTICA & CURIOSA. Fine and rare materials bought and sold. Catalog, \$2. C. Scheiner, 275 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, NY 11226.

LINCOLN THE FREETHINKER. Compelling, in-depth analysis of the little-known unorthodox religious views of the Great Emancipator. Paper, \$5.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

EVANGELISM UNMASKED. Authoritative, insightful probe into Fundamentalist hucksterism. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

CELIBACY, AN UNSCRUPULOUS POLICY by Joseph McCabe. A renowned historical scholar and ex-Catholic priest details the reasons and superstition responsible for the "utter futility, strain and misery" of Church-imposed sexual abstinence. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

ROCK 'n ROLL HEAVEN



ABOVE WORDING ON FRONT OF SHIRT IN POCKET POSITION
DESIGN ON BACK OF SHIRT IN TWO COLORS ON WHITE
QUALITY 100% COTTON PRE-SHRUNK
SIZES M • L • XL • XXL (ADD \$1.50)
SEND \$14.95 CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:
BWI GRAPHICS
1243 OLD DORSEY RD • HARMENS, MD 21077

SEXUAL OBSESSIONS OF SAINTS AND MYSTICS by William J. Fielding. A noted social scientist gives a penetrating narrative of the erotic lives of famous religious and secular men and women. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

A FEW REASONS FOR DOUBTING THE INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE by Robert G. Ingersoll. America's most eloquent orator and secular humanist analyzes, with penetrating logic, reason and wit, the errors and fallacies of Judeo-Christian myths and beliefs. Paper, \$6.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

TRAVEL

JET TO EUROPE! \$160 from the East Coast, \$269 from West Coast. (\$229 elsewhere—provided seats are available). AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

JEWISH CURRENTS

September 1991 Issue
"That October Mideast Conference," editorial;
"Where Do We Go from Here?" Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer; "Today's ESL Children," Sid Weinstein; "Yesh G'vul—A Response," Gary Brenner; "Brownsville, Brooklyn, 1940-1990," Abe Osheroff.

Single issue: \$2 plus 65¢ postage.
Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 Street
New York, NY 10003

PEACE DELEGATION

Join the **WOMEN'S PEACE DELEGATION TO PALESTINE & ISRAEL**, December 15-30, 1991. Write Middle East Children's Alliance, 2140 Shattuck, Room 207, Berkeley, CA 94704, (510) 548-0542.

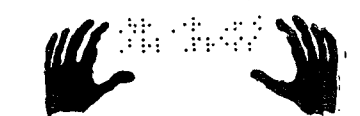
PERSONALS

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 1817 Welton, #1580-BA, Denver, CO 80202.

SINGLES SHARING VALUES on peace, ecology, spirituality, personal growth connect AT THE GATE. Free details. Box 09506-ITT, Columbus, OH 43209.

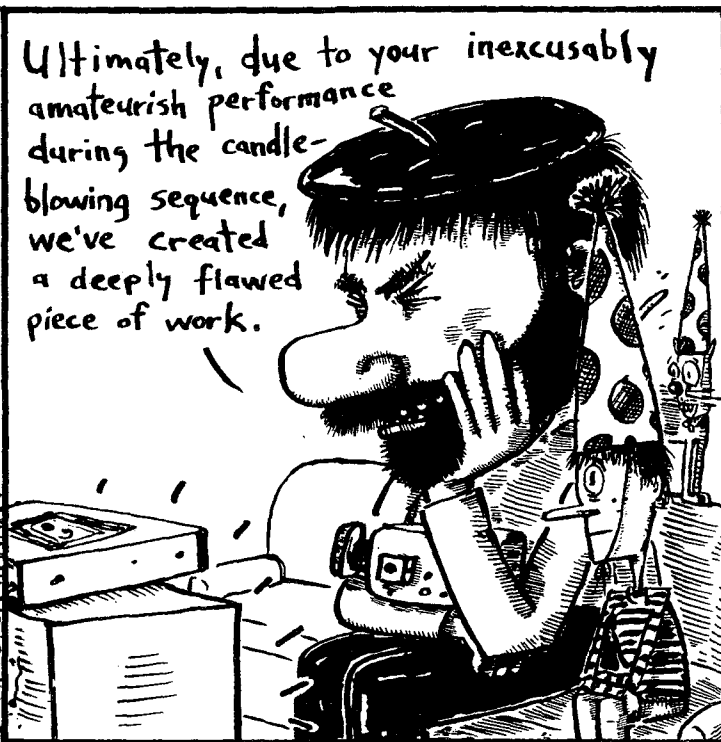
CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible left singles concerned about peace, justice, racism, the environment. National/international membership. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, selected articles from *IN THESE TIMES* are included in **FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL (FI)**, a quarterly review of minority and independent left publications, produced by the Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription to FI costs \$5. Send to: Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc. 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217, (313) 842-1804.

The Adventures of a Huge Mouth, by Peter Hannan



IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force!

We're the *only* national newsweekly offering the variety of readers you won't find anywhere else. It's the inexpensive way to promote your product, service or organization.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
85¢ per word / 3-5 issues
80¢ per word / 6-9 issues
75¢ per word / 10-19 issues
65¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch / 20 or more issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Complete the coupon below and enclose it along with your ad copy and payment to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days prior to the Wednesday cover date.

Complete the cycle.
Buy recycled.

The One Stop For REAL Recycled Paper Products.

Free Catalog (800) 323-2811

Atlantic Recycled Paper Co.

"I regard Joseph McCabe as the most learned man alive today ... no one can very well question his scholarship."

—Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes (1933)
noted educator-humanist

An insightful historical analysis of

The Catholic Church and the Sex Problem

THE STUPIDITY, FUTILITY, AND INSOLENT OF ITS ETHIC

By **JOSEPH McCABE**

paper **\$5.00** ppd. (USA).

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS

PO Box 102
Ridgefield NJ 07657

RUNNING

commentary

A brisk jog
needn't be a flight
from reality.

By Will Nixon

I, too, have donned \$110 running sneakers with jelly chambers scientifically cushioning my tender white arches and then strapped on my Competitor stopwatch, which has enough precision to launch the Challenger. According to social critics whom I trust, this is not good behavior. "Don't run.

Really, DON'T," Michael Ventura once wrote in *The Utne Reader*. "America likes to run because running from (fill in the blank) is what we do best. Everybody who runs is running away from something terrible. Stop running and find out what's behind you."

In *Fear of Falling*, Barbara Ehrenreich made it clear that she also didn't much care for my kind. The fitness boom of the '80s was "exuberantly pro-capitalist," she wrote. Yuppies hungry for a lean, mean body definition could spend their money to purge their softness on the aerobics floor. We could pretend to play while working out. She wrote, "It was consumption made strenuous and morally renewing, 'working out' as a balletic imitation of true work, in which the hedonism of consumption could be confronted and vanquished with the slow burn of pyruvic acid in the muscles."

Or something like that. By the time my pyruvic acid got cooking, I had long given up contemplating

the deep inner meaning of running and lost myself to the sights and smells of the neighborhood.

I might have turned the corner up on Jersey City Heights, say, where the great jawbone of the Manhattan skyline reappears, full of sleek metal incisors at Wall Street and the downward slope to the brick chompers of Tribeca and Greenwich Village. I would start down the long bridge toward Hoboken, passing the tops of sumac trees that brushed the bridgeside, and reach the strong smell of the chocolate factory at the bottom. Around the corner I passed the Hell's Angels' garage, always popular on Friday night, although rabbits lived in the grassy lot next door, then in to the cave-like darkness under the railroad bridge.

Foot power: This was the industrial wasteland of New Jersey, or so I've heard the critics say, but a good run always leant magic to the landscape. My evening jaunts through the Spanish neighborhoods and the half-forgotten industrial zones were how I came to know where I lived. They weren't an escape from anything. They were my entry into the parts of town most of my fellow gentrifiers happily ignored.

Non-runners easily read the wrong metaphors into the sport: Michael

Continued on page 21